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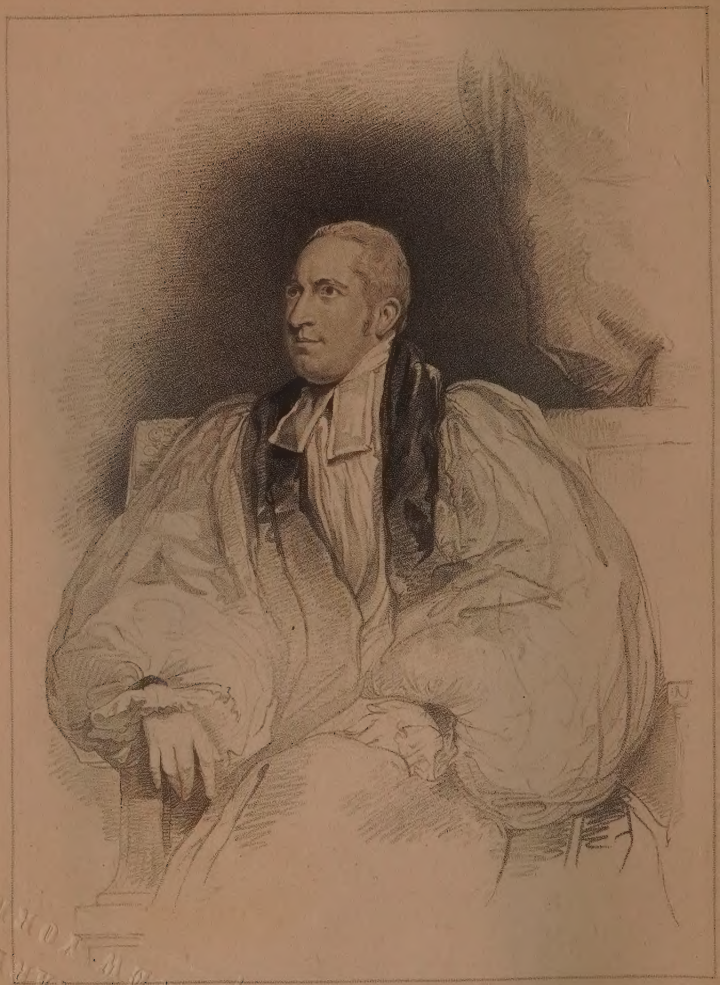

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THOMAS FANSHAWE MIDDLETON, D.D.

Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

London, Published by C.J.G.&F.Rivington Jan.y 1831

THE

LIFE

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND

THOMAS FANSHAW MIDDLETON, D.D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

BY

THE REV. CHARLES WEBB LE BAS, M.A.

PROFESSOR IN THE EAST INDIA COLLEGE, HERTFORDSHIRE,
AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN TWO VOLUMES

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TO

THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON WATSON,

THE REV. H. H. NORRIS,

AND JOSHUA WATSON, ESQ.

THE CHOSEN AND DEVOTED FRIENDS OF

BISHOP MIDDLETON,

HIS ENLIGHTENED, ZEALOUS,

AND CONFIDENTIAL AUXILIARIES

IN EVERY DESIGN

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CAUSE

THROUGHOUT THE DIOCESE OF INDIA,

THE FOLLOWING ATTEMPT TO HONOUR HIS MEMORY

AND TO RECORD HIS LABOURS

IS INSCRIBED,

WITH SENTIMENTS OF DEEP VENERATION

AND CORDIAL REGARD,

BY THEIR FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

In the year 1824, nearly two years after the death of Bishop Middleton, his Sermons and Charges were published by archdeacon Bonney, together with a biographical memoir of the Bishop himself. This faithful account was sufficiently copious to put the public in possession of the more prominent events in the Bishop's life. It was, however, subsequently thought, that a narrative, somewhat more diffuse than could conveniently be prefixed to an edition of his writings, might not be altogether unacceptable to the public. The sphere of the Bishop's

labours was unusually interesting and important. His episcopate was, in fact, identified with the first establishment of Protestant episcopacy in India; and the Christian world, it was supposed, would naturally be anxious for ample details respecting an event so pregnant with momentous consequences. It was, moreover, considered, that complete justice could not be done to the memory of that admirable prelate, without the fullest exposition of the views, motives, and principles, which regulated his exertions, in the accomplishment of that arduous and holy work. The compilation of a history which might, in some degree, answer these purposes, is the task which I have been adventurous enough to undertake!

In endeavouring to execute this task, it has been my object, wherever it was practicable, to step aside from the office of a narrator, and to let the Bishop speak, as much as might

be, for himself: and this, to a considerable extent, I have been enabled to do, by the kindness and confidence of his surviving friends. My chief acknowledgments are, on this account, due to archdeacon Watson, the Rev. H. H. Norris, and Mr. Joshua Watson;—to Mr. S. S. Ward, of the Accountant-general's office, the Bishop's familiar and confidential friend;—and to Dr. Barnes, who was archdeacon of Bombay during the whole of the Bishop's life in India. The indulgence of these gentlemen has given me access to an ample store of the Bishop's epistolary correspondence. With the former three of them, he kept up a constant intercourse to the last; and his communications to them are eminently valuable, since they embrace all the great questions, interests, and designs, which occupied his heart and mind, while labouring at the foundations of the Anglo-Indian Church. It is nothing more than bare

justice to add, that by their cordial sympathy and unwearied co-operation, his spirits were mainly supported under the multiplied difficulties incident to his new and almost overwhelming charge.

Of my obligations to archdeacon Barnes, it is scarcely in my power to speak worthily. It would very inadequately represent them to say, that his assistance has been most valuable. It is nearer to the truth to declare that, without it, I know not how the work I have undertaken could well have been brought to a completion. In conference with him I have enjoyed all the advantage which can be derived from communion with sound judgment,—consummate knowledge of the ecclesiastical affairs of India,—and a heart full of admiration for the great qualities of his lamented diocesan, and full of zeal for the blessed cause to which his life was consecrated.

I have, lastly, to acknowledge most

gratefully, and most respectfully, that I have met with every facility that could be desired, in the use of documents and letters, from the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India,—from Mr. Courtenay, their secretary in the Bishop's life-time,—from the Honourable Court of Directors,—and, also, from the Venerable Societies for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

East India College.
January, 1831.

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THE

LIFE

OF

BISHOP MIDDLETON.

CHAPTER I.

Mr. Middleton's early Life and Education—Introduction to Dr. John Pretyman—Presented to the Rectory of Tansor, Northamptonshire—Marries—Treatise on the Doctrine of the Greek Article—Death of his younger pupil—Removes from Norwich to Tansor—Collated to a Prebend in Lincoln Cathedral—Acts as a Magistrate—Visitation Sermon at Grantham—Removes to St. Pancras, London—Collated to the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon—His attention to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Placed in a Committee for the Edition of the Family Bible—Charge to the Missionary Jacobi—His endeavours to procure a new church at St. Pancras—Their failure.

The subject of this memoir, Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, was the only son of the Rev. Thomas Middleton, Rector of Kedleston, in Derbyshire, at which village he was born on the 26th of

CHAP. I. 1769. January, 1769. His early education he received at home from his parents, under whose care he remained until the completion of his tenth year.

1779. On the 21st of April, 1779, he was received into Christ's Hospital, where he is said to have been distinguished for thoughtful and steady habits, and for manners which, though firm, were mild and unassuming. His residence at this noble foundation appears to have been remembered by him in after life with delight and gratitude; and, that neither time nor distance could impair his attachment, was shewn by a donation of 400*l.* remitted from India several years after his appointment to the See of Calcutta. He lived to be a governor of the institution, but the notice of his election did not reach India till after his decease. It is pleasing, however, to know that the Hospital testified their respect for the Bishop's memory by suffering Mrs. Middleton to nominate a scholar (the child of a widowed Indian friend) on the strength of this election.

From this school he was removed to Pembroke College, Cambridge. It is almost needless to add, that his habits, at the University, were such as to lay the foundation of his future eminence as a scholar and a divine. In January,

1792. 1792, when he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, his place was fourth among the senior optimes, the second rank of mathematical honours. In the following March he was ordained deacon

by Dr. Pretyman, then bishop of Lincoln, and commenced his course of professional duty by entering on the curacy of Gainsborough. That his leisure might not be without occupation, at once elegant and useful, he undertook the conduct of a small periodical work, entitled, "The Country Spectator." It would seem that either the demand for this species of intellectual refreshment was extremely languid in that vicinity, or that the other engagements of the editor became too pressing to enable him to satisfy it: for the publication was discontinued in the course of eight months; during which period thirty-three papers made their appearance, most of which were the composition of Mr. Middleton himself. CHAP. I.

This literary enterprise, short-lived as it was, had one remarkable consequence: it was the means of his introduction to Dr. John Pretyman, Archdeacon and Precentor of Lincoln, and, through him, to his brother the Bishop of Lincoln. To Dr. Pretyman he was wholly unknown, until the latter, by accident, took up a number of the Country Spectator, with which he was so well pleased, that it induced him to enquire after the author, in the hope that he might find in him a fit person to undertake the domestic education of his sons. In this expectation he was not disappointed. Mr. Middleton accepted the charge, and, in consequence, removed first to Lincoln, and afterwards to Norwich, the usual residence

CHAP. I. of Dr. Pretyman, as a prebendary of that Cathedral. He was thus brought into the society of many persons distinguished by various attainments and literary habits; he had, moreover, ample opportunities of professional usefulness, and his energy as a preacher was deeply felt, and generally acknowledged.

1795. In 1795, he was presented by Dr. Pretyman to the rectory of Tansor in Northamptonshire; a provision which afforded him a competent independence, and placed within his reach the comforts of domestic life. In 1797 he married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of John Maddison, Esq. of Alvington, in the county of Lincoln. In the society of this lady he appears to have found all the happiness he could have anticipated. In her he had a companion admirably qualified to heighten the blessings of life, and to alleviate its burdens: whilst she was fully able to form a just estimate of his worth, and was at all times willing to render him every kind and obliging office by which the labours of a scholar can be relieved. With uniform cheerfulness, and unwearied care, she underwent the toil of transcribing every manuscript which he prepared for the press: a service which was so highly appreciated by him, that he has recorded his sense of it by an inscription on the blank leaf of the printed copy of his work on the Greek Article, which he presented to her on the completion of his thirty-ninth year.

In 1802 his patron added to the living of Tansor, the consolidated rectory of Little and Castle Bytham. He was, however, detained at Norwich some time longer by the care of his pupils, and by the anxiety of his friends and parishioners to keep him among them. He now commenced the work which has established his reputation as a critic and a divine, his treatise on "The Doctrine of the Greek Article, applied to the Criticism and Illustration of the New Testament." In this performance he has displayed a steadiness of application, a compass of research, and an acuteness of discernment, which have given him an honourable place among distinguished names in English literature and theology.

It may here be advisable to advert briefly to the circumstances which possibly may have turned the thoughts of Mr. Middleton to this investigation. It is well known that, in 1798, Mr. Granville Sharpe published a pamphlet entitled "Remarks on the use of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament, containing many proofs of the Divinity of Christ from passages which are wrongly translated in the Common English Version." In 1802 appeared anonymously, "Six Letters to Granville Sharpe, Esq. respecting his Remarks;" the author of which is now known to be Dr. Wordsworth, then a resident fellow of Trinity College, of which he

CHAP. I. has since become the Master. This performance, though small in compass, displays the result of a most laborious, faithful, and extended examination of the Greek ecclesiastical writers, from the Apostolic age to the fourteenth century; and its object was to shew that the interpretation given by the Fathers to those passages, the translation of which Mr. Granville Sharpe had called in question, is uniformly correspondent to his theory; and that this interpretation was never murmured at, even by those very heresies which might be most closely pressed by it. A considerable collection of extracts is added from the Latin writers. These are introduced for a double purpose: First, to shew that the Latin translations of such passages of the New Testament exhibit precisely that sort of ambiguity which might be expected in a language destitute of the article: but that, secondly, in the translations of several compositions from the Latin into the Greek by contemporary writers, the property of the article, as contended for by Mr. Sharpe, is invariably observed. These *Six Letters* were followed by an answer, entitled "Six more Letters to Granville Sharpe, Esq. on his Remarks, &c.;" under the fictitious name of "Gregory Blunt, Esq." and again, in 1805, by "A Vindication of certain Passages in the Common English Version of the New Testament, addressed to Granville Sharpe, Esq. by the Rev. Calvin Winstanley, A.M." The

former of these performances was evidently the work of a writer of the Unitarian school, and had little claim to the public attention on the score either of learning, argument, or propriety. The pamphlet of Mr. Winstanley was much more respectable. It was conceded by Dr. Wordsworth himself, that Mr. Winstanley had effected more than any other writer who had appeared against Mr. Granville Sharpe's theory, but not that he had in the slightest degree affected its truth or stability[1]. Such was the state of this controversy, when the work of Mr. Middleton appeared. But though the agitation of these questions, in all probability, first called his attention to the subject, he does not seem to have written with any immediate view to the dispute between the parties who had been recently

CHAP. I.

[1] Pref. to Eccl. Biogr. p. xxv. ed. 1810. It may be proper to notice here, that to all his subsequent publications, Dr. Wordsworth has prefixed an advertisement relative to this question, in which he declares his readiness "to retract publicly the substance of his Six Letters, so soon as he shall be convinced, either by his own researches, or those of others, that he has advanced a false and untenable argument." And in his last work (that on the authorship of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, 1824,) he proclaims that nothing has occurred to induce him to abandon his argument, or to alter his opinion of its importance; and that the additional authorities, which have since fallen in his way, from the writings of the Fathers, are not contradictory to, but in perfect harmony with, the numerous testimonies produced in his Six Letters.

CHAP. I. engaged. He considers the enquiry as signally important in its connection not only with theology, but with the philosophy of grammar; and his plan, accordingly, consists of two parts; of which the first is employed in attempting to resolve the question, *What is the Greek Article?* and to shew that the solution offered will explain its principal uses in the Greek writers. The second part exhibits the application of the preceding doctrine to the Greek text of the New Testament. Of the success with which Mr. Middleton applied himself to this investigation, it is impossible to speak otherwise than generally and briefly in this Memoir. That his work was highly estimated, is clear from the attention it commanded at the time of its publication, and from the anxiety with which a new edition was called for several years ago. Whether he has completely succeeded in establishing that doctrine, is a point which, to this day, divides the opinions of the literary world. The present learned occupier of the Greek chair at Cambridge [2], is unable to "persuade himself that any competent judge can read it through, without a thorough conviction of the soundness of its general principle, though some difference of opinion may be found to exist on some of its minute ramifications, as

[2] Professor Scholefield, Preface to second edition of Bishop Middleton's Book, p. v.

well as on some applications of it, in detail, in the second part of the volume." His great predecessor, Porson, is said to have spoken of the work in terms of commendation; but it is not known that he ever expressed a clear and decided opinion as to the merits of its doctrine, or the safety of its application to the purpose of illustrating the New Testament [3].

In the estimation of some critics, indeed, there is one serious objection to the positions of Mr. Middleton, with reference to the sacred writings; namely, that the language of those writings can hardly be called Greek. The words, indeed, are Greek, but the phraseology and idiom are frequently Asiatic. It is accordingly contended, that even if the rules which Mr. Middleton and Mr. Sharpe sought to establish, were found to prevail with perfect uniformity among the classic writers, it would still be unsafe to derive any momentous conclusion from the practice of authors, who were probably ignorant of the grammatical niceties of the language they were em-

[3] The opinion of Porson respecting Dr. Wordsworth's Six Letters, may be collected from his own words, as reported by the author: "As for your volume, I have read it. It is a book that ought to have been written, and I am glad it is written." But on no occasion did the Professor, in Dr. Wordsworth's presence, express any opinion respecting the grammatical theory of Granville Sharpe.—Advertisement to Dr. Wordsworth's book on the writer of Εἰκὼν Βασιλική. 1824.

CHAP. I.

ploying. With regard to this objection, it may be doubted whether, on a close inspection, it will retain the formidable appearance which it presents at first. In every language there are grammatical niceties, respecting which they who are in the habitual observance of them, are theoretically and critically ignorant. The usages of a living language are seldom acquired by a systematic or scientific process. They are gradually and almost imperceptibly imbibed; and where that language has been used from an early period of life, its most familiar peculiarities will naturally present themselves to the speaker without study or premeditation. It will hardly be contended, for instance, that the most impure Hellenistic writer is not generally true to the grammatical inflexion of nouns or verbs: and if so, it is by no means perfectly obvious that his use of the article would necessarily be different from that which prevailed, either in discourse, or composition, among those to whom the language was native. At all events, it seems scarcely reasonable to make the critical ignorance of the sacred writers a conclusive ground for discarding the application of the doctrine to the Scriptures of the New Testament, unless it can be clearly shewn that those writers were more lax in their use of the prepositive article than authors of the most unquestioned authority.

Whatever may be the doubts which still hang

over the question, it must be allowed that the whole argument of Mr. Middleton and of Mr. Sharpe, is important enough to deserve a searching and dispassionate examination. Such an examination it has not yet received. It is hoped, however, that this justice will not long be withheld. The first edition of Mr. Middleton's work appeared in 1808. The second edition, published in 1828 by Professor Scholefield, seemed to furnish a fair opportunity for a complete discussion of the theory, as a labour remarkably appropriate to the Greek chair of Cambridge. That this good office has not been rendered, in that quarter, to the cause of sacred criticism, is probably to be ascribed to the circumstance, that Mr. Middleton's work had long been out of print, and that a new edition was called for with an impatience which hardly admitted of the delay required for a review of the question. This cause, however, now no longer exists. The interval between the publication of this edition and the appearance of the next, must furnish ample leisure for a full consideration of the argument; or at least for such an exhibition of the evidence as may enable every reader to fix his own value on the rule. In the mean time,—(even though it should be granted that the speculations of Mr. Middleton may have sometimes been carried to a degree of refinement, which perhaps the most perfect language will scarcely bear,)—it will hardly be denied that his

CHAP. I.

1808.

CHAP. I. 1808.

labours have been eminently conducive to the critical study of the Greek Testament, and that his arguments, if not absolutely demonstrative, have, at least, been potently auxiliary to the establishment of a fundamental article of our faith.

Some time previous to the completion of this work, Mr. Middleton had the affliction to lose the younger of his pupils, Henry George Pretyman, whose engaging temper had won his attachment, and whose opening talents promised to reflect high honour on the labour and judgment of his instructor. In the dedication of his volume to Dr. Pretyman, the author affectionately commemorates the virtues and endowments of this lamented youth, and naturally deplores the unhappy dissolution of a most interesting connection, which had continued for upwards of thirteen years. It is a pleasing evidence of the warmth of Mr. Middleton's affections, that there were some few common articles of furniture in his possession, of little intrinsic worth, and of less external elegance, which he would on no account part with, because they had formerly been used by his favourite pupil. When he left Norwich, they were carefully packed up, and sent into Northamptonshire, and in all probability accompanied him to India.

The removal of his elder pupil to Cambridge, and the loss of the younger by death, now left

Mr. Middleton without any impediment to the discharge of his obligation as a parochial minister. His friends, indeed, were still anxious to retain him in their society at Norwich, and with this view, offered to procure him preferment in that city. This proposal, however, he firmly declined, but not without some natural and pardonable regrets, if we may judge from the language in which he adverts to his intended removal in the conclusion of his Dedication to his patron: "I am shortly," he there observes, "to withdraw from polished and literary society, from friendships endeared to me by similarity of pursuits, and by uninterrupted habits of kindness and confidence, to exercise the obscure but important function of a Village Pastor. I am to seek other companions, to form new connections, to engage in fresh prospects." In conformity with these views and resolutions, he quitted Norwich in 1808, and fixed his residence at Oundle, two miles from Tansor, until his rectorial house should be fit for his reception. In the same year he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and preached the commencement sermon before the University of Cambridge. In the spring of the year following he removed to Tansor, and soon secured the attachment and esteem of his parishioners, by his benevolence and hospitality, by a faithful discharge of his ministerial duties, and by a careful accommo-

CHAP. I. dation of his instructions to the habits and capacity of a humble and rustic audience.

1809. In 1809, he was collated to a prebendal stall in the Cathedral Church of Lincoln; and, some time after, he added to his other duties that of a magistrate for the county of Northampton. This is a combination of offices which, on the first examination, it is difficult to contemplate with much satisfaction. Nothing, it is true, can well be more discordant than the two functions of the secular judge and the spiritual guide and comforter. The relation between the magistrate and the criminal seems so essentially at variance with the relation between the minister of religion and the people committed to his charge, that, at first, it is not easy to imagine how the one character can be sustained without impediment to the efficacy and usefulness of the other. On the other hand, however, it must be remembered, that there are many important duties connected with the office of a magistrate, which imply an intercourse of kindness between himself and the poor—which place him in the condition of their friend and protector—which enable him frequently to stand between their helpless necessities and the hardness of vulgar authority, more especially in the administration of the poor laws—and which consequently can by none be more beneficially and fitly discharged

than by their spiritual guardian and monitor. It ought, further, to be recollected, that this union of characters is often dictated by an almost irresistible necessity. In the absence of the landed gentry, for instance, a large tract of country may sometimes be left, for a considerable portion of the year, wholly destitute of laymen of sufficient respectability and intelligence to act as conservators of the peace : and in such cases, if the clergy were to decline the service, the civilization and good order of a whole district might be seriously endangered. It was probably by considerations of this nature, that Dr. Middleton was induced to accept a place in the commission, and to charge himself with duties, many of which were by no means in harmony with his general habits and pursuits. Such, however, was his distrust of his own legal knowledge, and such his conscientious and intense anxiety to administer the law rightfully and impartially, that, at last, his feelings became injurious to his peace of mind, and compelled him, after the trial of one twelvemonth, to seek relief from these responsibilities by retiring from the commission.

In June 1809, Dr. Middleton was appointed to preach at the triennial visitation of the Bishop of Lincoln. His sermon was delivered at Grantham, and was afterwards printed at the request of the Clergy. He entitled it, " *Christ*

CHAP. I. 1810.

Divided," conformably to its text from 1 Cor. i. 13. The subject of his discourse, as that title imports, was the unhappy extent and variety of religious division in this country. In lamenting the price which we are thus compelled to pay for the blessings of religious liberty, the preacher is naturally led to a consideration of the true principles of Christian unity on earth, his exposition of which is luminous, charitable, and temperate, and exhibits an acquaintance with the history of the Church, which signally justified the choice of his diocesan in appointing him to the pulpit on that occasion.

At this period of his life he appears to have been blessed with all the means of serene and unruffled enjoyment. He was high in estimation as a scholar and a divine; he was in possession of domestic comfort and happiness; and his time must have been agreeably diversified by his parochial duties, and the prosecution of his literary and theological studies. Enviable, however, as his condition will probably appear to the generality of readers, it will surprise none who were acquainted with his fervid energy of character, to find him ready to quit his retirement for a sphere of higher excitement, and more extended usefulness. After he had been for some time settled in Northamptonshire, the headmastership of the Norwich grammar-school became vacant. This situation appeared to offer

him an occupation suited to the vigour and activity of his mind, together with the resumption of those intimacies which had rendered his former residence at Norwich so delightful. These advantages tempted him to entertain serious intentions of presenting himself for the vacant post. He accordingly came from Northamptonshire for the purpose of making enquiries respecting it, and was so well satisfied with the result, that nothing but a delicate sense of honour and independence prevented him from soliciting what, beyond all question, he might easily have obtained. It is impossible to regret the failure of this speculation, since its success might, perhaps, have prevented his removal to the vicinity of London, which took place in 1811, in consequence of an exchange of the livings of Tansor and Bytham, for the vicarage of St. Pancras, Middlesex, and the rectory of Puttenham in Hertfordshire. As soon as this exchange was effected, he commenced his residence at the vicarage house, in Kentish Town. In 1812, he was collated by the Bishop of Lincoln to the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon; and in the same year delivered his primary charge to the clergy of that archdeaconry. In this address, he pointedly adverts to certain controverted subjects, which then excited a very lively interest, —namely, the principles of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the establishment of

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Lancasterian schools. His object in so doing was to explain and enforce the genuine principles of churchmanship,—to state the causes which have unhappily led to their decay,—and to inculcate upon the clergy the duties more immediately incumbent upon them, in times which he conceived to be imminently dangerous to our religious institutions.

Archdeacon Middleton was now transferred to a sphere of exertion commensurate with his powers, and suited to his large and comprehensive views. In one scene of usefulness he appeared to feel peculiar delight, the meetings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; which had recently received a glorious accession of strength and activity, and which (in the charge to which we have just adverted,) he describes as "the rallying point of those who would preserve our constitution in Church and State;" and whose deliberations he very justly considers "as the most important to the maintenance of the true principles of our Establishment, of any which have been holden since convocations fell into disuse[4]." His attendance at the meetings of this Society was punctual, and his activity in promoting its objects, ardent and unremitting. The same may be said of other Societies in immediate connection with the Church, all of

[4] Charge to the Clergy of Huntingdon, Bonney, p. 161.

which were objects of his zealous and vigilant regard. It will be readily perceived that the intimate knowledge which he was thus enabled to gain of the designs, resources, and operations of all such Societies, formed an admirable preparation for his future exertions in the cause of Christianity in India; and it cannot be doubted, that the acuteness, the judgment, and the habits of business, which he brought with him to their meetings, contributed most powerfully to the efficacy of those institutions. By these interesting occupations he was brought into frequent and gratifying intercourse with many distinguished scholars and divines, and had an opportunity of forming friendships which were the pride and solace of his life. It was thus that he became intimately known to Mr. Joshua Watson; to the Archdeacons Pott, Cambridge, and Watson; to Dr. Van Mildert, (the present Bishop of Durham); to Dr. Rennell, Dean of Winchester and Master of the Temple; to the Rev. H. H. Norris of Hackney; and to many other individuals, eminent in the Church, and venerable for their devotion to the cause of benevolence and piety.

To his other important engagements was added, about this time, the editorship of the British Critic, of which a new series was then projected, and the interest in which was purchased for the express purpose that it might be placed under his direction. At nearly the same

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period, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was engaged in the preparation of an edition of the Bible, which was to be published under their direct sanction, and to be accompanied with a selection of notes from the most eminent writers of the Church of England. The choice and arrangement of these notes were committed more immediately to Mr. D'Oyly and Dr. Mant, then domestic chaplains to the Archbishop of Canterbury; subject, however, to the judgment of a sub-committee of revision. Among the members of this sub-committee were Dr. Middleton, Dr. Van Mildert, and the Archdeacon of London, Mr. Pott; on whose learning, moderation, and judgment, the Society placed the firmest reliance. And that no attainable security might be wanting to the public, the revised portions of the proposed edition were, finally, submitted to the inspection of Dr. Howley, Bishop of London, and Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, previous to the publication of the work.

The talents and erudition of Archdeacon Middleton, thus actively employed in the interests of the Society, naturally pointed him out as a person eminently qualified to deliver a charge, on their behalf, to Christophilus Augustinus Jacobi, ordained a presbyter by the Bishop of Zealand, and now engaged to proceed as missionary to the congregations of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the southern

parts of India. This office was executed by him with deep feeling and admirable judgment; and the charge he had prepared was most impressively delivered, at a very numerous meeting of the Society, on the 23d of March, 1813. It is, perhaps, scarcely possible to imagine a spectacle of more solemn interest than that of a young man, in the very flower of his days, prepared to brave the perils of an untried climate, and to count neither country, kindred, nor life, dear unto him, so that he might finish his course with joy, in testifying among the heathen the Gospel of the grace of God. Little anticipating, at the moment, that he should, himself, soon be obedient to the call which summoned him to an overwhelming field of labour, in the same country, Archdeacon Middleton commenced his address, by reminding the missionary of the multiplied discouragements and difficulties which would task his holy resolution; and against which it became him, in the strength of God, to prepare and fortify himself. Having discharged this part of his duty, he proceeds to display the more animating portion of the prospect. He calls the attention of the missionary to the pious labours of Schwartz and Gerickè, with those of Ziegenbalg and Grundler, in whose congregations Mr. Jacobi was now to be placed; and whose memory is, to this day, cherished with affectionate veneration in the south of

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India. "It is, however," (continues Archdeacon Middleton), "from the labours of ordained converts that we expect the most favourable results;" and "it is admitted, I think, by all who have preceded you, that your hopes of making genuine converts must rest, in great measure, upon the instruction and education of youth." Having added some valuable suggestions respecting the personal conduct and studies of the missionary, he urges him to be less solicitous for a multitude of unstable or pretended proselytes, than for solid proofs of firmness and sincerity in those who may profess the faith of Christ. "Finally," he says, "under the guidance of the Blessed Spirit, you must rely for your success on those Christian graces which are the proper fruits of the Spirit. They must live in your life, and breathe in all your actions. Humility, patience, kindness, devotion, charity, and peace, are the virtues of a Christian Apostle. By these you will adorn and recommend the doctrine of God our Saviour."

But of all the cares and designs of Archdeacon Middleton there was not any which, at this period, so powerfully absorbed his time and faculties, as the project of obtaining a new church for the parish of St. Pancras. He found himself in his new cure the spiritual guardian of nearly 50,000 persons; and yet almost entirely disabled from becoming known to them

through the ministrations of public worship. The church was an ancient and confined edifice, capable of accommodating about 200 persons, and fitted only for the population of Pancras, when it was a small village on the outskirts of London. At Kentish Town, was an ancient chapel of ease, which might contain nearly the same number. The relation between the pastor and his flock was thus in danger of being utterly lost; and the mass of the parishioners were well nigh cut off from all communion with the Church, except through the very questionable medium of a few proprietary chapels. To a man of Dr. Middleton's principles and temperament, this was a state of things too afflicting to be endured without a vigorous effort for its remedy. Accordingly, soon after his accession to the vicarage, he began to concert measures for the accomplishment of this object; and it was his intention, when once the proposal for erecting a church was sufficiently promulgated, without delay to address his people on this important subject from the various pulpits within his parish. He justly regarded the topic as worthy of the most solemn appeal to their reason and their feelings. Unhappily, however, the original resolutions of the meeting were scarcely published, when the whole merits of the question were nearly overborne by the popular, but very mischievous remark, that the

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plan had little else in view but the aggrandisement of the vicar! The turn thus given to the question, as well as the animosity excited by various other causes, rendered it wholly unfit for discussion in a Christian assembly from the pulpit. Dr. Middleton, therefore, immediately prepared and circulated an address, in which, with admirable temper, and with earnestness becoming a Christian pastor, he laboured to impress on the hearts of his parishioners a sense of the enormous evil to be apprehended from a virtual exclusion of vast numbers, and especially the poor, from the benefits of public religious instruction; and to awaken them to the solemn obligation of providing the remedy. "The condition of this parish," he observes, "is capable of almost incalculable improvement; and the foundation of that improvement must be laid, if any where, in the Act for building a PARISH CHURCH. This will make you members of a new community. It will excite a feeling for the common good. The rising generation will be early trained to habits of piety. The rich and the poor will assemble together before the Universal Parent. You will acquire an interest in the honour and dignity of your parish. Parochial charities will start into existence; and the tablets, which shall record your virtues, preserved to your descendants in the sanctuary of the Most High, will teach them lessons of piety

and virtue through the force of hereditary example [5]." CHAP. 1. 1813.

After some delay, a bill was prepared, and introduced into Parliament, for the purpose of raising money for the construction of a spacious church, not so monstrously inadequate as the ancient edifice to the wants of this immense population. With what passionate and honest zeal Dr. Middleton laboured to secure the success of this measure, is well known to all who, at this period, had the happiness of his acquaintance. It would be painful and needless to relate in detail the mortifying history of its failure. It is sufficient to say that, although it had the cordial support of many of the most honourable and respected names in the parish, an opposition was raised against it in some quarters, which, for the time, was unhappily fatal. The defeat, however, was, after all, but temporary. The exertions of Archdeacon Middleton had made the minds of people familiar with the object. His attempt had levelled many formidable obstructions, and, in a great degree, had cleared the ground for future operations. It is but just to observe, that his successor, Dr. Moore, the present vicar, availed himself

[5] This address is printed in the collection of Bishop Middleton's Sermons and Charges, edited by Archdeacon Bonney, pp. 293—311.

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zealously of these favourable circumstances; and it is well known that his address and perseverance have been rewarded by the construction of that noble edifice, the New Church of St. Pancras, which is now among the most splendid ornaments of the metropolis. It is, further, gratifying to record that, since that time, three additional chapels have been raised by the exertions of the parish and the Commissioners for building Churches.

CHAPTER II.

Renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813*—Responsibility of a Christian Government for the spiritual interests of their foreign settlements—Remark of Dr. Prideaux in* 1694*—Resolution of the House of Commons in* 1793 *—Attention of Parliament in* 1813 *to the promotion of Christianity in Hindostan—Memorial of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Opposition in England to the extension of Ecclesiastical Government in India—Resolutions of the House of Commons—Intercourse of Missionaries with India—Powerful Speech of Mr. Wilberforce —Provision for Episcopacy.*

We are now arrived at that period in the life of Dr. Middleton, which exhibits him in a character beyond all comparison more interesting and more important than any which he had hitherto sustained; we are henceforth to regard him, not merely as a dignified ecclesiastic—not merely as one among the numerous shepherds and bishops of the flock of Christ; but, still more, as the father and the founder of the Protestant Episcopal Church of our Asiatic empire; the first, we would willingly hope, of a long line of illustrious and venerable prelates.

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In the year 1814, the charter of the East India Company was renewed by Parliament. The discussions, in 1813, which preceded this grant, gave an opportunity for the expression of the public sentiment respecting the moral and spiritual responsibilities of this country towards her vast Asiatic dependencies. The spiritual wants of our own countrymen, separate from their brethren and their native land, were alone sufficient to stir the heart of every one in these realms, who was not content with the mere name of Christian. And then, it could not be forgotten, that these, our Christian countrymen, were living in the midst of benighted millions, the subjects of the British empire, and to whom, therefore, the British empire was debtor, to the extent of a mighty and solemn obligation; an obligation which exacted a liberal devotion both of energy and of wealth to the cause of Christianity, in the midst of heathenism and superstition. By none of those Christian settlers who preceded us in India do these responsibilities appear to have been wholly forgotten. The Portuguese, the Hollander, the Dane, all seem to have remembered that their acquisitions in the East brought with them the imperative duty of honouring the name of their God and their Redeemer, in the sight of the pagan and the idolater. Nay,—not only the Papal churches, and the Protestant missionary estab-

lishments, but the very mosques and minarets of Hindostan, seemed to condemn, in language of burning rebuke, that religious apathy, which would allow to every earthly interest an overbearing precedence above that *one needful thing* which ought, most righteously, to take the lead in every human enterprise. It may, indeed, be thought that the peculiar circumstances under which our gigantic dominion has grown up in India, have been, on the whole, singularly adverse to the formation of permanent religious establishments in that country. The lapse of a century and a half has witnessed the gradual expansion of a few insignificant commercial factories into an enormous empire: so little was this consummation originally anticipated or desired, that the progress towards it has often been attended with the voice of loud and urgent deprecation at home; and now that the fabric is reared, we feel astounded and almost overwhelmed by the weight of our glory, and the extent of our imperial responsibility. Every step, too, of this wondrous and mighty change has, unavoidably, been attended with conflicts, which have called forth the worst passions and most ruthless energies of our nature: and these circumstances, together with an appalling sense of insecurity, long combined to "turn awry" the current of peaceful and holy enterprises. When conquest seizes at once upon a foreign territory

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with a strong hand and an uplifted arm, the beneficent genius of civilization and improvement may naturally follow in her train. But when, to their own astonishment, and even dismay, merchants are actually growing into princes, it is not very wonderful if, during the transition, their designs should be conceived and executed rather in the spirit of adventure, than of paternal and enlightened sovereignty. And these considerations may in part, perhaps, account for the inadequate support and honour which, for a long period, the Christian cause received from the Indo-British government.

It is not, however, to be imagined that the government at home have been uniformly unmindful of the religious obligations connected with the possession of power and influence in Hindostan. As far back as the reign of William III., an act of the Legislature [6] enjoined the Company "constantly to maintain in every garrison and superior factory one minister, and to provide there also one decent and convenient place for divine service only." And, further, it appointed, that "such ministers as should be sent to reside in India, should apply themselves to learn the native language of the country, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos, who should be servants of the Company, or their

[6] Charter of the East India Company, 1698.

agents, in the Protestant religion." It was also provided that these ministers should be approved by the Bishop of London, and consequently, should be of the Established Church. These enactments are the more remarkable and important for being passed at a time when the relations of the Company with India were almost exclusively commercial, and their establishments little more than trading factories; thus practically recognising the principle which extends the responsibility of Christian governments to the spiritual interests, not only of their political dependencies, but even of their mercantile settlements; and, further, acknowledging that they are bound to attempt, by every prudent and legitimate method, the conquest over heathen prejudice and superstition.

That such an authoritative recognition of these principles by the British Legislature was urgently needed at that period, will appear by a paper drawn up by Dr. Prideaux in 1694, entitled "An Account of the English Settlements in the East Indies, together with some proposals for the propagation of Christianity in those parts of the World." In that paper, after contrasting the prosperous condition of the Dutch settlements, with the decayed and ruinous state of the English East India Company, the writer hesitates not to ascribe the difference to the care of the Dutch to promote the honour of God in

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those regions, and the total neglect of that duty by the English. He complains that, while the Dutch settlements were provided with missionaries, and their factories and ships with able ministers, the English crews were left wholly without prayer, instruction, or sacraments,—the chaplains at their factories were depressed, and nearly rendered useless by the utter inadequacy of their allowances,—and the promotion of Christianity among the natives was altogether neglected. In order to redeem the English name from this reproach, and to procure the blessing of God on their undertakings, he proposes a scheme embracing a variety of objects;—among others, that schools and churches should be erected at the chief settlements; that missionary stations should be fixed; that a seminary should be established in England to train persons for the supply of the eastern missions; that, after a time, the persons to be prepared for this duty at the seminary, should be brought from India; *and that when Christianity should have made sufficient progress in those parts to encourage the settling of a Bishop in India, the seminary should be removed thither, and be placed under the charge and government of the Bishop.* And he adds, towards the conclusion of the paper, that experience has shewn, in the West Indies, as well as in the East, *that the existing evils and deficiencies cannot otherwise be remedied than by settling*

bishops and seminaries in those countries where ministers may be bred and ordained upon the spot[1].

In subsequent renewals of the Company's charter, it appears that the legislature never wholly lost sight of the moral and religious welfare of India. Unhappily, however, various causes combined to defeat, in a considerable measure, their salutary resolutions. The vast distance of British India,—the inexpressible indifference with which it is usually regarded at home,—and the ignorance which consequently prevails respecting all its interests and concerns; —all these circumstances united to make the wisest legislative enactments poor and feeble in the execution. Besides, the transformation from the commercial to the political character, was rapidly going on; and the process, as may easily be imagined, was far from favourable to any designs connected with the honour of morality and religion. Even the alluring pursuit of traffic sunk into very subordinate importance in the midst of the cogent and spirit-stirring exigencies of the time. Of course, it is a subject rather of regret than of wonder, that under such circumstances the necessity of raising forts and batteries should have thrust aside all thoughts of erecting seminaries or churches,—and that, in the march of conquest, or the serpentine course of worldly

[1] Life of Prideaux, 1748, p. 161—183.

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intrigue, the cause of the Gospel should, for a time, be disregarded and forgotten!

At length, in 1793, the affairs of the Company were brought before Parliament, under circumstances peculiarly interesting and momentous. At that time their concerns were extending to an almost portentous magnitude; and the trial of Mr. Hastings had recently fixed the jealous attention of the British public upon the administration of their enormous acquisitions. The government and the trade of India were accordingly subjected to a minute and rigorous examination; and the legislature seems to have been awakened more vividly than ever to the obligation of providing for the best and highest interests of their eastern dependencies. It was, accordingly, the deliberate resolution of the House of Commons, "That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interest and the happiness of the British dominions in India; and that, for these ends, such measures ought to be adopted, as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their *religious and moral improvement*;" and further, "that sufficient means of religious worship and instruction be provided for all persons of the Protestant communion, in the service, or under the protection, of the East India Company in Asia, proper ministers being, from time to time,

sent out from Great Britain for those purposes." A clause was, subsequently, added to the Bill, "empowering the Court of Directors to send out schoolmasters, and persons approved of by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, for the religious and moral improvement of the *native* inhabitants of the British dominions in India." But a further clause being offered, requiring the Court of Directors to settle the destination, and provide for the decent maintenance, of such persons, it was thrown out on the third reading. CHAP. II. 1812.

The twenty years which followed were years of maddening conflict and convulsion almost throughout the civilized world; and little leisure or opportunity was left for following up, effectually, these beneficent and virtuous purposes of the British legislature. During this period, however, the earthly destinies of our Asiatic empire were expanding themselves upon a scale commensurate with the gigantic operations of war and negociation in Europe. When the renewal of the charter became once more a subject of parliamentary discussion in 1813, the dominions of the Company had been augmented by a vast accession of territory, the fruits of their war with Tippoo Sahib. The Company were further connected, by political treaties, with all the chief native powers of Hindostan. The Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, had, 1813.

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severally, under their immediate jurisdiction and government, extensive and populous provinces; each had their separate establishments of numerous civil servants; and maintained, in addition to a large body of King's troops, a native army officered from the mother country.

A state of things like this demanded of the British Parliament the most solemn and patient investigation. Their deliberations, accordingly, were not confined to the better regulation of trade, the more effective administration of justice, or the general safety and welfare of our eastern settlements. It was felt, in the first place, that the public were entitled to some adequate security for the principles and the attainments of the civil functionaries, who were entrusted with the administration of such mighty interests; that nothing could better furnish this security than an appropriate finish to their education, previous to their assumption of that momentous trust: that, therefore, the sanction of the legislature might, with signal advantage, be extended to the permanent maintenance of a College, which the wisdom and liberality of the Honourable Court of Directors had already established in this country; and in which their civil servants were to be prepared for their stations by Christian instruction, by a course of study embracing European literature and science, and by the acquisition of an elementary knowledge of the

necessary Asiatic languages. It was also felt, throughout this kingdom, that, without incurring an enormous load of guilt, it would be impossible longer to withhold from the cause of Christianity in the east, that honour and support which, in full and righteous measure, had never yet been rendered to it. And so strong and general was this feeling that, at length, it irresistibly communicated itself to those who directed the councils of the nation.

At such a crisis, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge conceived that it fell within their peculiar province to aid in giving steadiness and strength to this great national impulse; and their exertions for that purpose are worthy of all honourable commemoration. They had long and earnestly laboured in the holy cause with which the subject of this Memoir was from henceforth to become most intimately connected; and their anxiety for its advancement was forcibly manifested in the resolutions which, at this time, they respectfully submitted, through the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the British government. In these resolutions[1] they expressed themselves "fully sensible that the claims, which such a body as the subjects of British India have upon the wisdom, the justice, and the charitable kindness of their rulers, must occupy the thoughts

[1] See resolutions of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1812.

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of those who have to consult and provide for their prosperity; inducing them to enact such measures as may serve to the improvement of their whole existence as a people, and more particularly in their moral and religious character. The Society, therefore, did not arrogate to themselves any other feeling than that which was entertained, without doubt, by the government of the country; and, in presenting their humble wishes to those who were best able to give effect, under Providence, to what was so earnestly desired, they presumed no further than to hope that they might thereby add another motive to those inducements, which the mere urgency of the case must press upon the sovereign ruler, and the chief councils of the nation. The Society, therefore, most humbly begged leave to advert to such means, for obtaining the object of their anxious wishes, as to them appeared most likely to conduce to the great end in view.

"The Society were fully persuaded that nothing short of an establishment of pastoral superintendence, and such a supply for the ministry of the word and sacraments throughout the British empire in the east, as might correspond, in due measure, with that which constitutes the main ground of religious welfare in the realm of England, could serve to place the spiritual interests of the British subjects, in those parts, upon the best and most permanent foundations.

"The Society, further, craved permission to

observe, that more than a century had elapsed since the most earnest wishes of many chief and excellent persons in this nation had been expressed for procuring such a form of Church communion in India, as might serve to demonstrate the character of the British nation,—to provide for the exigencies of our beloved countrymen, when far severed from their friends and connections,—and, at the same time, to induce the natives, by the silent, but persuasive pattern of religious fellowship, and the sober invitation of a settled ministry, to lift their eyes to the truth, and to take courage, to this end, from the prospect of countenance and shelter which would thus be set before them.

"The Society, in common with all who enjoyed the blessings of communion in the Church of England, was deeply and thoroughly convinced, that no sufficient supply for the ministerial succession, and the necessities of the extensive population of British India, could be furnished or continued, without such an establishment of the ministry as might be able to regulate and perpetuate itself; which would effectually be obtained by resort to episcopal hands in India, when, with the divine blessing, such provision should be settled there. It was thus only, in that land, that the increasing multitude of those who were born of Christian parents, and entitled therefore to early baptism,

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could be trained for every other act of religious communion, according to the means of grace, and mode of fellowship appointed by our blessed Lord in his household. It is thus only that such candidates for God's everlasting favour may be encouraged and enabled to take upon them their own obligations, by the solemn pledge to be rendered by them at confirmation, that from thenceforth they may draw near to the table of the Lord. It is thus only that a regular succession of persons, qualified for the ministerial calling, can be raised, and admitted in that country to their sacred functions, for the European and native congregations.

"The Society, therefore, offered their suffrage and their plea, that, in consideration of the pressing needs of the British subjects, European and native, in India, the permanent foundations of the Christian Church, according to its best form, should be laid among them; and that the great ends of religious and moral culture might be secured to them by the settlement of bishops in the chief Presidencies, by the forming of seminaries, and by the building of churches; the want of all which had been felt and acknowledged for more than a century; during which period the exertions of other European nations had gone before us, and had been successful in accomplishing many of those very purposes, for which the British government, in its public acts, ori-

ginally expressed its intentions to make adequate provision, but which purposes had not yet been carried into effect."

These powerful arguments for the establishment of an effective episcopacy in India, were much strengthened by some recent publications of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, who had been for many years a chaplain in Bengal, and whose local knowledge enabled him to state explicitly and forcibly the spiritual wants of the country.

That these suggestions would have some obstruction to encounter from the variety of opinion prevalent in this country on the subject of ecclesiastical government, or from the unwillingness to impose additional burdens on the revenues of the Company, might, not perhaps unreasonably, have been anticipated. But it was scarcely to be expected that a regard for the safety and prosperity of India should have been made the ground of opposition to a request for the provision of Christian ordinances among our own countrymen in the east. Such, however, was actually the case; nay, almost every proposal for upholding and promoting in India the knowledge of that truth, on which we profess to rest our hopes of eternal happiness, was loudly reprobated by some, as a wild and visionary scheme, impracticable by human means or agency, and as tending directly to the destruction of our Asiatic empire. An eccle-

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siastical establishment, more especially, it was contended, would be the signal for alarm and commotion among the natives; it would seem openly and ostentatiously to array Christianity against the faith of sixty millions of people, and to imply a settled design for its extirpation. Nothing, it was urged, could be expected to result from this display of Christian zeal but the most desperate and sanguinary resistance: and the design was tragically deprecated, as pregnant only with ruin and confusion.

The violence of these prejudices and apprehensions made it absolutely necessary to submit all the proposals of the friends of Christianity to the most cautious examination. A large body of evidence was accordingly taken before both Houses of Parliament, relative to the expediency and safety of any measures for the preservation of Christianity among our own people in India, or for the promulgation of it among the natives of that country. It was not till after much vehement discussion, that the following resolutions of the committee, appointed to report upon the whole Indian question, were adopted by the House of Commons, and made the foundation of corresponding clauses in the bill:—

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is expedient that the Church establishment in the British territories in the East Indies, should

be placed under the superintendence of a bishop and three archdeacons, and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India, for their maintenance.

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the British dominions in India; and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of moral and religious improvement. That in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs.

"Provided always, that the authority of the local governments respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved; and that the principles of the British government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained."

It is remarkable that, of these two propositions, the latter appears to have been much more keenly contested in Parliament, than the former. It was, probably, perceived by its more intelligent adversaries there, that the establishment of episcopacy in India did not *necessarily* involve any direct and systematic design for the conversion of the natives, although it might

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wear the aspect of visible and authoritative hostility to their superstitions: whereas, the allowance of missionaries in that country, for the express and avowed purpose of propagating the Gospel among the people, was a measure which ought to be sternly resisted, as likely to bring Christianity and idolatry into a direct conflict, imminently dangerous to the peace and safety of India. The iniquity, as well as the absurdity of these objections, was exposed by Mr. Wilberforce in a strain of impassioned and irresistible eloquence; and as his address was directed against prejudices, which, in their full sway, would, doubtless, have likewise demolished the project of an episcopal establishment, an extract from his address cannot be unseasonable in a history of the foundation of the Anglo-Indian Church. "If," says that venerable friend of mankind, "if, sir, I have proved to you, as I trust I have irrefragably proved, that the state of our East Indian empire is such as to render it highly desirable to introduce among them the blessings of Christian light and moral improvement; that the idea of its being impracticable to do this, is contrary alike to reason and experience; that the attempt, if conducted prudently and cautiously, may be made with perfect safety to our political interests; nay more, that it is the very course, by which those interests may be most effectually promoted and

secured, does it not follow from these premises, as an irresistible conclusion, that we are clearly bound, nay, imperiously and urgently compelled, by the strongest obligations of duty, to support the proposition for which I now call upon you for your assent. But what is that proposition? Its only fault, if any, is, that it falls so far short of what the nature of the case requires. Is it that we should immediately devise, and proceed without delay to execute, the great and good and necessary work of improving the religion and morals of our East Indian fellow-subjects? No; but only that we should not, substantially and in effect, prevent others from engaging in it. Nay, not even that, but that we should not prevent government having it in their power, with all due discretion, to give licenses to proper persons, to go to India and continue there, with a view of rendering to the natives this greatest of all services. Why, sir, the commonest principles of toleration would give us much more than this. Where am I standing? Where is it, and when, that I am arguing this question? Is it not in the very assembly in which, within these few weeks, nothing but the clearest considerations of political expediency were held sufficient to justify our withholding from the Roman Catholics the full enjoyment of the fullest measure of office as well as political advantages; and when you yourself, sir, though

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you felt yourself bound to continue some few official disabilities, acknowledged that it was with reluctance, and even with pain? And shall we now lay the religion which we ourselves profess, under such a restraint, in any part of our own dominions? No, sir, it is impossible; you will not, you cannot, act thus. But in addition to what I have already said, it deserves well to be considered, that if we should fail in our present endeavour, and if Christianity should be, as it then would be, the only untolerated religion in the British dominions in India, the evil would not stop here. The want of toleration would not be merely a negative mischief; the severest persecution must infallibly ensue. For assuredly there are, and by God's help, I trust there ever will be, both European and native teachers prepared, in the face even of death itself, to diffuse the blessed truths of Christianity.

"But, let it never be forgotten, it is toleration only that we ask; we utterly disclaim all ideas of proceeding by methods of compulsion or authority. But surely I need not have vindicated myself from any such imputation. The very cause which I plead would have been sufficient to protect me from it. Compulsion and Christianity! Why, the terms are at variance with each other; the ideas are incompatible. In the language of inspiration itself, Christianity has

been called '*the law of liberty.*' Her service, in the excellent formularies of our Church, has been truly denominated, 'perfect freedom;' and they, let me add, will most advance her cause, who contend for it in her own spirit and character."

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In spite of all opposition, the cause of Christianity was, at last, to a certain degree, triumphant. The act which renewed the charter of the Company, erected their territories into one vast diocese, with an archdeacon to be resident at each of the three Presidencies, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. For this result the friends of Christianity were deeply grateful, even though it fell short of their wishes and their expectations, and was clearly inadequate to the spiritual exigencies of the country. The territory comprised within the diocese of Calcutta stretched from Delhi to Cape Comorin, and from the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges, no less than twenty degrees of latitude, and ten degrees of longitude, an extent of country very far exceeding the whole of the British empire in Europe. Through these vast and populous provinces, England had, in some form or other, established herself. In some, our government was completely recognised, and English magistrates and English collectors of the revenue were stationed in regular districts. Others were as yet occupied only by a military force; while some still remained under their native princes, and our connection authorised

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only the residence of an English envoy, with the accompaniments of his guard of honour. It was only, perhaps, at the immediate Presidencies that Protestant Christians were collected in any very considerable numbers; yet, scattered as they were, the whole were now to be considered as united under the Episcopal superintendence of a single person; and it was to be the duty and concern of the Bishop of Calcutta to watch over and to provide for the religious welfare of his countrymen, throughout the immense provinces of Hindostan!

The salary assigned to the bishop was fixed at 5000*l.* a year, and that to each of his archdeacons at 2000*l.*; appointments which, according to European estimation, may perhaps appear abundantly liberal; and which, in truth, would be so, if considered in the light of so much mere personal emolument. These sums, however, must, in all justice, be compared with the necessarily expensive establishments required by the climate, and by the general mode of living which custom has established in the east, among persons of high rank and station; to which should be added the numerous and irresistible demands on the liberality of a dignified ecclesiastic, more especially in India, where all appearance of parsimony is sure to excite contempt. And when thus considered, the revenue of the bishop and his archdeacons must, assuredly, appear inade-

quate to the importance, and it may fairly be added, to the duties of their situations. It is well known that these allowances were inferior to the salaries of many of the Company's superior civil servants. The Bishop's income was less even than that of a puisne judge. It must further be remembered, that no provision whatever was made for the expense of an episcopal residence, although it was notorious that no house at all fit for that purpose, even unfurnished, could be obtained in Calcutta for a more moderate rent than 600*l.* or 700*l.* a year. And what was still more to be lamented,—the heavy expense of his visitations to the various parts of his enormous diocese, (so indispensable for the effective discharge of the episcopal office), seemed to have been altogether forgotten. Neither was any provision made for the charge of such occasional journeys, as he, or his archdeacons, would find absolutely necessary for the superintendence of divine worship, or the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline.

CHAPTER III.

Appointment of Dr. Middleton to the Bishopric of Calcutta—His Consecration—Valedictory Address from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Embarks for Bengal—Touches at Madeira—Lands in Calcutta—His reception.

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By the statute which authorised the establishment and maintenance of the bishopric of Calcutta, the appointment of the person to fill it was vested in the Crown; and such powers and jurisdiction were to be conferred on the Bishop, as might, from time to time, be defined by letters patent under the Great Seal of England. The first care of his Majesty's government, accordingly, was to select a person, in all respects, eminently qualified for the duty of establishing the doctrine and discipline of the Anglican Church, in the territory of Hindostan. The recommendation to the Prince Regent came more immediately within the patronage of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, then President of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India. His lordship's nomination fell upon Archdeacon Middleton, who was commended to his notice by

Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, as a person of distinguished fitness for this most arduous trust. Overpowered by the vast magnitude and appalling novelty of such a charge, Dr. Middleton was at first tempted to decline the offer. His maturer thoughts, however, condemned this determination as unworthy of a Christian minister; and he found no peace of mind, until he had recalled his first decision, and had formed a resolution to brave the difficulties of the office, and the dangers of a tropical climate, in the service of his Saviour.

"You will easily imagine," (he observes in a letter addressed to Archdeacon Bonney) "that in accepting this office, I have sustained a severe conflict of feelings. I *had* even declined it; but when I came to settle the account with my own heart, I really found that I had little to allege in behalf of my decision. I began to suspect that I had yielded to some unmanly considerations, when I ought rather to have counted my comfort, and my connections, and my prospects at home, as altogether worthless, in comparison with the good of which it might possibly be the design of Providence to make me the instrument. How far, even now, I have reasoned rightly, God alone knows. But I have endeavoured to view the subject impartially, and I trust in the Almighty to bless the work in which I am to engage."

The consecration of Dr. Middleton, as Bishop

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of Calcutta, took place in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, on the 8th of May, 1814. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, was assisted on the occasion by Dr. Howley, Bishop of London, by Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, and by Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Salisbury, provincial Dean, Chancellor, and Precentor of Canterbury. The consecration sermon was preached by Dr. Rennell, Dean of Winchester. On occasions of such interest and importance, it is usual for the Archbishop to desire the publication of the discourse; a measure which, however, in the present instance, his Grace, most reluctantly, consented to dispense with. It will, perhaps, scarcely be believed that the establishment of episcopacy in our Indian dominions was regarded by many persons with so much jealousy, and by some with such positive aversion and alarm, that it was thought prudent to abstain from any proceeding which might have the effect of more particularly calling to it the attention of the public, or provoking unnecessary discussion as to its probable results; and for these reasons the admirable sermon of Dr. Rennell was suppressed! At this distance of time we may look back with astonishment on the apprehension which suggested this caution, and contemplate with gratitude the issue of an experiment which was then thought so full of doubt and hazard. The incident, however, is not altogether uninteresting or uninstructive, since it

shews what a combination of courage and forbearance is often absolutely needful for the success even of the wisest and holiest designs.

After his consecration, a considerable portion of the Bishop's time in London was occupied in frequent interviews with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, with the President of the India Board, with the Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors, and with various other official persons. The rest was partly devoted to the society of friends, to whom he was deeply attached, and partly employed in making a selection from his library, and adding to it such publications as would probably be useful in a country where few theological works had as yet found their way. On the 17th of May he attended a special meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had testified their confidence and esteem for him, by placing at his disposal a credit of 1000*l.* for the promotion of their views and designs in India, and which assembled on that day for the purpose of bidding him a solemn farewell, previously to his departure on his sacred mission. To Dr. Law, the Lord Bishop of Chester, was consigned the performance of this last solemn office of kindness and respect. In the valedictory address delivered by him, in the name of the Society, his lordship first adverted to the satisfaction with which they had witnessed the establishment of an Episcopal

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Church in India, as the most powerful instrument for diffusing the knowledge of uncorrupted Christianity, over a country of vast extent and immense population. He then expressed the signal gratification derived by the Society from the appointment of Dr. Middleton to that new and important station. From this moment, continued his lordship, the Society looks forward with fresh hopes towards the East; and feels itself under the most pressing obligation to continue, and to augment its efforts, for the maintenance and advancement of the Saviour's kingdom, in those remote and interesting regions. His lordship then proceeded to a brief review of the operations of the Society, with reference to the promotion of Christian knowledge in Asia, for upwards of a century past; and entreated, with all deference and respect, that the Bishop of Calcutta would condescend to honour, with his protection and superintendence, those exertions which thenceforward, by the blessing of Divine Providence, the Society might be enabled to make in prosecution of their designs. His lordship further, in the name of the Society, respectfully invited the Bishop's favourable attention to the recent establishment of their diocesan committees in almost all parts of this kingdom, under the special patronage of the Right Reverend Prelates of England and Wales; a proceeding which had been rewarded with the most beneficial con-

sequences. He added, that a great Eastern Institution, on a similar model, had long been an object of anxious desire with the Society; and that their wishes would be gratified to the uttermost, if the establishment of such an institution might be coeval with the Bishop's arrival in India, and might be permitted to grow up under his fostering care. He concluded, by declaring it to be the earnest prayer of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, that the Almighty would bless the Bishop with a prosperous voyage, and crown with ample success his efforts for the advancement of his kingdom and glory.

In his answer to this address, Bishop Middleton, after warmly acknowledging the kind expressions with which his lordship had introduced it, assured him that the favourable opinion and friendly regards of the members of that venerable Society, would be a source of powerful refreshment to his wearied spirits, in all moments of difficulty and discouragement. He felt that his claims to this distinction were exceedingly overrated; but declared himself unable to express the value of their approbation, as the testimony of men distinguished by rank, and piety, and Christian zeal, in the greatest of Christian nations, at the proudest period of her existence. To zealous co-operation with the Society he willingly and ardently pledged himself. In common with

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them, he had ever been persuaded that, if the difficulties of diffusing the light of the Gospel through the east were to be successfully encountered, it must be by establishing among our countrymen in Asia, the form of church government derived from the Apostles, by inculcating attention to divine ordinances, and by departure from iniquity among all who name the name of Christ. To the value of the Society's exertions in the cause of the Gospel, among our eastern dependencies, he was assured, a confident testimony must be borne by all whose candour was open to the truth; and most happy should he deem himself, if Providence should enable him to second their benevolent designs, by the establishment of an Eastern Institution, framed upon that admirable model to which his attention had been called, and with whose successful operations in England he was well acquainted. But whatever might be the result of his endeavours, he intreated that any failure or delay might be imputed, not to indifference or disregard, but to the acknowledged difficulties of an untried station. He wished, unfeignedly, that so arduous an undertaking had been committed to stronger powers; but his trust was in the Almighty, who can call strength out of weakness. And in the execution of his duties, he should feel, under the divine protection, some security against the mischiefs of an erroneous judgment, in his firm

attachment to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England. He concluded by taking leave of the venerable Society, with his warmest thanks for that, and every other mark of their regard, and with desiring that he might always be remembered in their prayers.

By the Act of Parliament, the nomination of the three archdeacons rested with the Crown, by whom the first were appointed; but his Majesty, in the letters patent, consigned all future appointments to the Bishop, the selection to be made from the clergy in India. No provision was made for a chaplain, or a secretary, to the Bishop. His lordship, however, consented to take with him a young solicitor, who had obtained a license to practise in the Supreme Court, at Calcutta, and who was to officiate as his secretary. A few weeks previous to his departure, Bishop Middleton was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and on the 8th of June, 1814, he sailed from Portsmouth, in the *Warren Hastings*, for Bengal, together with Mrs. Middleton, and Mr. Loring, Fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford, who had been nominated Archdeacon of Calcutta. Mr. Barnes, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, who had been nominated to the Archdeaconry of Bombay, sailed in the same fleet. Mr. Mousley, Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford, who had been appointed Archdeacon of Madras, was one of the Company's

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chaplains, and had been for some years resident in India.

It will be needless to dwell upon the emotions which must have been crowded into the moment that removed the Bishop from home, and country, and friends, and consigned him to a vast and untried scene of duty and of labour. One consolation and support, at that trying season, he enjoyed in very ample measure; he was conscious of being followed to his destination by the good wishes and the prayers of men cordially devoted to the same great cause which summoned him from his country. The attachment and the esteem of his most valued friends had, very shortly before his embarkation, been testified by a splendid memorial[1], which he acknowledged in the following terms to Mr. Watson:—

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[1] A superb silver inkstand, bearing the following inscription:

Reverendo admodum in Christo Patri
T. F. Middleton, S. T. P.
Primo Ecclesiæ Britannicæ in Indiâ Orientali Episcopo,
Ingenii ardentis, Doctrinæ reconditæ, Pietatis sinceræ viro
Pro Sanctissimo dignitatis gradu, et meritâ honorum
amplitudine gratulantes,
A patriâ tamen et suis præclaro nimis fato semotum dolentes,
Hoc qualecunque est amoris, observantiæ, et desiderii
testimonium
D. D. D. grati et memores amici.

Off the Isle of Wight,
June 8, 1814.

1814.

My dear Sir,

Much as I wished it, I found it impossible, before I left town, to acknowledge to you, and, through you, to my other friends, my sense of the regard to which I am indebted for a very valuable memorial. I can assure you that the many proofs of good opinion and esteem which have been offered me at a moment somewhat trying to my feelings, have been among my chief supports: though, if I could have known all the sacrifices which I should be required to make, my judgment might have faultered even more than it did in making the decision.

The agony of his separation, however, he well knew, would be best assuaged by occupations, which might prepare him for the approaching demand upon his intellectual and moral resources. His time during the voyage was, accordingly, devoted to the acquisition of the Persian language, to his improvement in the Hebrew, and to the general prosecution of his theological studies. And that he might not be without preparation for the variety of trials which inevitably awaited his temper and his judgment, he made, for his future guidance, a collection of short rules, so full of admirable good sense, that his

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biography would be incomplete without their insertion.

"Invoke divine aid—Preach frequently, and as 'one having authority'—Promote schools, charities, literature, and good taste: nothing great can be accomplished without policy—Persevere against discouragement—Keep your temper—Employ leisure in study, and always have some work in hand—Be punctual and methodical in business, and never procrastinate—Keep up a close connection with friends at home—Attend to forms—Never be in a hurry—Preserve self-possession, and do not be talked out of conviction—Rise early, and be an economist of time—Maintain dignity without the appearance of pride: manner is something with every body, and every thing with some—Be guarded in discourse, attentive, and slow to speak—Never acquiesce in immoral or pernicious opinions—Beware of concessions and pledges—Be not forward to assign reasons to those who have no right to demand them—Be not subservient nor timid in manner, but manly and independent, firm and decided—Think nothing in conduct unimportant and indifferent—Be of no party—Be popular, if possible; but, at any rate, be respected—Remonstrate against abuses, where there is any chance of correcting them—Advise and encourage youth—Rather set than follow

example—Observe a grave economy in domestic affairs—Practise strict temperance—Remember what is expected in England—and lastly, remember the *final account*."

Such were the golden maxims by which the first Protestant Bishop of India proposed to regulate his steps through the arduous region of usefulness now opening before him; and such were the thoughts and occupations by which the tedious interval of his voyage was converted into a season of preparation for future sacrifices and exertions.

In a letter to his intimate and deeply valued friend, Mr. S. S. Ward, of the Accountant General's Office, the Bishop gives a pleasing representation of the comforts of his voyage. He dates, at sea, longitude 14° 3′ west, latitude 36° 54′ north, Monday, 20th June, 1814. After speaking of a severe gale in the Bay of Biscay, he adds, "Yesterday (Sunday), I enjoyed extremely. We had prayers in the morning, after which I read a sermon to the ladies, writers, &c., and in the evening I preached to the whole party: every thing was conducted with the strictest order and propriety; and we have every reason to be pleased that we made choice of the *Warren Hastings*. Our fleet consists of about twenty sail, including some Brazil ships, under convoy of the *Cumberland*, of seventy-four guns: we outsail almost every

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thing but the man-of-war, and we could certainly by ourselves reach Bengal by the end of September: as it is, the captain expects to be there by the 15th or 20th of October, which is three weeks sooner than I had hoped. He is really a very well-principled and liberal man, an excellent disciplinarian, and very attentive to the comforts of his passengers. I have no doubt that we shall part exceedingly good friends. He seems to be as well pleased with his passengers as they are with him, and, indeed, they are a very respectable set: they are about twenty in number, and there is not among them a single individual to whose conduct or conversation it is possible to make the slightest objection. I assure you that I feel and am thankful for the comforts of my situation. I have got up a book-case in my library (the stern gallery), which I have furnished with more than a hundred volumes, Hebrew, Greek, Persian, Latin, French, and English—theological, classical, mathematical, historical, and poetical; and in such society I expect to enjoy a degree of relaxation to which I have been long a stranger. I have nothing to apprehend from illness in future unless the weather should be unusually bad: the officers say, that we may look for such weather as we now enjoy, with the exception of a few days off the Cape, during the whole voyage."

Funchal, June 25, 1814.

We landed here on Thursday the 25th. At day-break we were in the roads, and most magnificent was the view: a fine town of stone upon the beach, with numberless villas stuck amidst orange groves on the side of the mountain rising abruptly from the sea, and its summits in the clouds. While I was lost amidst the beauty and majesty of this spectacle, the *Cumberland*, of seventy-four guns, our convoy, opened her thunders to salute the Portuguese flag, which was instantly returned from the fort. Captain Baker then sent a lieutenant and fourteen men to invite the Bishop and his party on board the *Cumberland*, where he had prepared a splendid breakfast for us: I was then informed that the officer and the boat were at my orders, and would land us on the beach. We had scarcely quitted the ship, when Captain Baker fired another salute of twelve guns to announce my arrival. On landing, we proceeded immediately to Mr. Gordon's, to whom I had a letter; he received us with great attention, and has desired us to remain with him during our stay in the island—nothing can be more flattering than our reception. To-morrow I shall preach to the English, and on Monday I shall climb the mountains.—God bless you.

T. F. Calcutta.

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Of his residence at Madeira, the following animated and interesting description is given by him to his friend, the Rev. H. H. Norris, of Hackney.

Funchal, Madeira,

My dear Sir, July 8, 1814.

Though I cannot at present have any thing to communicate respecting India, you will probably not be unwilling to hear that I have arrived in safety at this place; I have thus accomplished about a tenth part of my voyage. I reached Portsmouth just in time to secure my passage; and after fifteen days' sail, two or three of which were very tempestuous, I was landed here on the 23d ult. with a salute from the Cumberland of 74, and every other mark of attention from Captain Baker, the commander. The Portuguese governor, the bishop, the English commandant in chief, General Gordon, &c. &c. have all called upon me. We are quartered at the house of Mr. James Gordon, an English merchant, who entertains us with the most unbounded hospitality and kindness. As there are no hotels in the town, which are at all reputable, though it has a population of 20,000, the principal merchants keep open house for all visitors, who are recommended to them; and we seem to have been consigned to the best house in the place: we meet at meals, and the rest of the day

follow our own pursuits; my party consists of Mrs. Middleton, Miss Sharpe, Archdeacon Loring, and our servant, a pretty numerous body to take to the house of a perfect stranger, for a fortnight or three weeks together; but the custom of the island reconciles us to it: indeed, I suspect that a voyage to India will reconcile me to many things, which otherwise appear very awkward.

The first view of this island is one of the most striking I ever beheld: a large white town on the beach, with immense mountains rising close at the back of it, sprinkled with the villas of the merchants, amidst vineyards, and orange groves, placed terrace above terrace, like steps up the steep ascent, and clouds almost constantly resting on its summit,—such is the picture. After being here two or three days, we made a visit into the interior, twelve or thirteen miles off, to view the greatest curiosity in the island, and perhaps a more stupendous scene is not to be found among the Alps: it is a precipice, from which you look down three quarters of a mile perpendicularly. When we reached it, the abyss was filled with clouds; but these gradually dispersed, and discovered to us a new world beneath us, hills and valleys, vineyards, houses, and a village church, all of course in miniature, and glowing with softer tints than I had supposed to exist in nature. The ladies went in hammocks,

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carried upon poles, while the gentlemen rode mules: the roads are the most frightful you can conceive, every where prodigiously steep, and in many places formed of large unshapen stones, laid like steps, with roots of trees sticking up in the midst of them. Yesterday I rode General Gordon's charger, to visit a seat about three miles off, the road to which, though the best in the island, is prodigiously steep, and paved with granite. After I had ridden, with tolerable courage, down one of these descents, an Irish colonel of our party exclaimed, "Well, my lord, I have been thinking whether any other English Bishop would have followed your lordship." This is a sort of breaking in for my visitations in India. I thought of poor Jacobi's letter to Dr. Gaskin, and "his horse full of fire," but I cannot identify the scene he describes: from what I recollect of it, his description would suit the whole island.

The first Sunday after I landed, I preached to the factory; they have not any church, but only a room, with seats for the ladies, and a sort of desk for the clergyman. I rather hesitated at first about preaching in such a place; but I recollected that the Bishops in England preach in proprietary chapels, which are not a whit better, and have less excuse; for the Portuguese government will not allow any thing having the interior

of a church to be built by Protestants. As to the religion established here, I have seen enough to convince me, that popery, where it goes its full length, is absolute paganism. However, they have not threatened to burn me, but are very civil: I was more generally known here within two or three days, than I was in St. Pancras in as many years. "Bispo Inglezes," English Bishop, was buzzed among the people as I passed along, till now they scarcely look at me. I wrote a hasty letter to Mr. Joshua Watson, requesting him to make my warmest acknowledgments to the donors of the handsomest ink-stand that ever went out to India. I shall remember you all with affection. I think of Bartlett's Buildings every Tuesday: if I recollect, you do not meet from this time till October: by that time I hope I shall be upon the Indian seas: we are to sail again the day after to-morrow. I have been very ill here for some time with a bowel complaint, which is endemic, but am recovered. God bless you. Remember us to Mrs. Norris, to Dr. and Mrs. Watson, Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Watson, and all whom you know that we esteem and love.

Yours, ever most truly,

T. F. Calcutta.

P. S. Let me hear from you, and remember, nothing can be uninteresting. If you see Lord

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Kenyon, pray tell his lordship that I wrote to him on my arrival here: I hope my letter has escaped the American privateers.

During his stay, the Bishop visited all the principal churches and convents in the town of Funchal, and made several other excursions for the purpose of enjoying the magnificent and truly Alpine scenery of the island. In another of his letters, alluding to these excursions, he says, that frightful as the roads were, by degrees he became so accustomed to them, that in the course of his short abode of sixteen days, he was able to ride boldly down a steep of 45°, where a single false step must have plunged him into instant destruction. In one of his rambles, his clerical dress made him an object of remark to some of the bystanders, some of whom were overheard to ejaculate, "what a pity he is a heretic—his perdition is inevitable!" The heretical prelate, however, was induced to be present at a mass performed at the Convent of Santa Clara, for a Duchesa who had lately died, and at which the Bishop of Funchal assisted, and preached in Portuguese. Previously to their leaving Madeira, the Bishop was present at an entertainment given by Captain Baker, on board the *Cumberland*, to the principal English residents; and on the 9th of July, he again embarked under a salute. The fleet then set sail,

and kept together until they reached the latitude of the Cape, when the convoy left them, and the ships destined for Bombay also separated. The state of his feelings, about this time, is described in the following passage from a letter of his to the author of these pages, dated at sea, August 22, 1814, when he was at no great distance from Rio Janeiro. After describing the monotony of life on ship-board, he adds, "You will easily imagine that such a mode of existence will sometimes awaken gloomy reflections. In such a train of mind, I one day took up the Odyssey; and was not much relieved by reading Euryclea's advice to Telemachus:

> Ἀλλὰ μὲν αὖθ' ἐπὶ σοῖσι καθήμενος· οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ
> πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον κακὰ πάσχειν, οὐδ' ἀλάλησθαι.

However, the answer of Telemachus was more satisfactory, and, though expressed in heathen Greek, it excited in me somewhat, I hope, of Christian feeling;

> Θαρσεῖ, μᾶ', ἐπεὶ οὔτι ἄνευ ΘΕΟΥ ἥδε γε βουλή [2].

I do trust that the Almighty will enable me to be not altogether useless in the great work in which I have embarked: otherwise, I have made sacrifices which I shall have cause to

[2] Odyss. B. 369.

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regret as long as I live. I shall never forget my feelings as I stepped into the boat at Portsmouth! I did not know that so many ideas could be crowded into the mind in a single instant. All that I love in England, and all that I hope for in India, seemed to dart across me. But I was prepared, in some measure, for the trial, and bore it, I hope, with tolerable firmness."

The *Warren Hastings* arrived at the Sand Heads, at the mouth of the Ganges, towards the latter end of November; and on the 28th of that month the Bishop landed in Calcutta. His first communication from the metropolis of his diocese appears to have been to his friend Mr. Ward, and it is inserted here as containing a vivid exhibition of his freshest feelings, and earliest proceedings, on entering upon the scene of his awful duties.

Calcutta, Dec. 26, 1814.

My dearest Friend,

On this day four weeks I reached this great city; and, with the exception of a vessel which sailed a day or two after my arrival, I write by the first ships. My landing here was without any eclat, for fear, I suppose, of alarming the prejudices of the natives; who, however, I am assured, begin to entertain a better opinion of the English, for venturing to

avow that they have some sort of religion. Nothing can exceed the beauty of Calcutta, I mean the European part; in every direction, as I look out of the window, I see an assemblage of white villas, and trees, and tanks. The church is, I think, without exception, the handsomest modern edifice of the kind I ever saw, spacious and airy, supported on handsome Corinthian columns, and paved throughout with blue Chinese marble; there are no pews, but rows of chairs, which have a light and elegant effect: on one side of the pulpit is the chair of the Governor-General, and opposite, that of the Bishop: the Judges sit in one gallery, and the Supreme Council opposite.

Yesterday (Christmas-day), I made my first appearance in the pulpit—the church was filled long before the service began—1300 persons were present: I preached to them from Luke ii. 10, 11, on the need of a Saviour, and the *true notion* of Him whom God hath sent us; concluding with some reflections arising out of the new relation in which I stand towards the people of India. I was heard with mute attention for fifty-five minutes; and, from what I can collect, the Churchmen are abundantly well satisfied, while the Methodists are pleased to find that the Bishop is a Christian. I wish, if possible, to bring them together, though it will be a difficult task: here, as elsewhere, we have altar

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against altar, and people who violate charity and talk very wildly, to say nothing worse; but I told them that I came to India, as Titus went to Crete, "to set in order the things that are wanting;" and that in the primitive ages, "Episcopacy was at once the bond of unity and the safeguard of truth." From the sermon we proceeded to make a collection for the poor, and raised 750*l.*, and afterwards to the sacrament, which I administered to upwards of 160 persons, including the judges, the council, general officers, &c. &c. The day will long be remembered in Calcutta.

I have seen the Baptist missionaries, Carey and Marshman, who, with all the Orientalists, send me their books. One of the most curious interviews I have had has been with a native of some rank, a Hindoo, who came to talk with me about morals and religion, and especially education. I suspect he also wished to know whether I was come in the character of Grand Inquisitor; and I was glad of an opportunity to disclaim every thing of the kind. I told him that my government held in abhorrence every thing like persecution, and that I would not attempt any thing beyond the diffusion of useful knowledge, and an exposition of what we believed to be the truth. He was so well pleased with this declaration, that I believe it was what he wanted. He said, "if my lord will do that,

it will be great for my lord's name: my lord will be great in India. Sir W. Jones was a great man, and understood our books; but he attended only to our law. Your lordship will study our religion: your people mistake our religion; it is not in our books: the Brahminee religion and your lordship's are the same,—we mean the same thing!" The fact is, that the man is quite at sea upon the subject: he has quitted the faith of his fathers as untenable, and is committed to the wide ocean of Deism: whether I shall be enabled to assist him, I know not; but he has promised to come to me again.

You will see from all this that I have found my way into a field of very interesting duties: what I may accomplish I know not; every body says, that I shall find it up-hill work; but very fortunately they have got an idea of my prudence and discretion; and even some zealous people here are firmly of opinion, that nothing is more likely to conciliate the natives to the Christian faith than the recent measures of government in sending out a Bishop. The natives, so far from feeling the agitation and alarm which have been talked of, applaud what has been done. I am credibly assured, that, before my arrival, many of them said, it would raise us in their estimation: "You have a head of your army and a head of your law, and of every department, but your

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religion." In short, they have seen so little of our religion, that they were puzzled to know in what it consisted. I heard the other day a curious anecdote, which goes to the point: some of the lower Europeans here, as elsewhere, have a trick of whistling—this is utterly unknown to the Asiatics, and some of them, not knowing any more than ourselves what it can mean, have gravely asked, whether it was not some sort of invocation addressed to the Deity?

I want exceedingly to get to work, especially before the hot weather comes in. I have a world of business on my hands: I have to make out commissions for licensing the clergy all over India, to institute the two archdeacons of Madras and Bombay, and to draw up articles of enquiry respecting the state of congregations, &c. to be sent to the clergy. I must also think of a confirmation; and government has just been consulting me about a general thanksgiving throughout India, on account of the peace: of course it will be proper, so I must draw up a form of prayer, and prepare a sermon. My table is already covered with documents for my consideration: so that you see, my friend, I have no sinecure; nor do I wish it. I only ask for my present health of mind and body, and I will do my best.

I shall be most anxious to hear from you,

when the Cuffnells is supposed to be near: be assured that the effect of distance is only to endear to us friends whom we really love.

Believe me ever, my dear Seth,
Your much obliged and very affectionate,
T. F. Calcutta.

In a subsequent letter to Mr. Norris, dated June 3, 1815, he says, that whatever might be his public reception, his private welcome was all that he could desire:

"We had a tedious voyage of five months, but without any thing unusual. Frightful tempests off the Cape are almost a matter of course; we arrived, however, I thank God, in perfect health. My public reception was certainly so arranged as not to *alarm* the natives: I believe it might *surprise* them; as they would naturally suppose, considering the high reverence which they pay to the heads of their own religion, that the arrival of a Bishop would make some little stir. My private reception, however, was very kind and respectful; and, allowing for the necessity of living with a stranger for full two months, till I could meet with a house, I encountered no particular inconvenience. I found that it was admitted, on all hands, even by those who did not see the necessity of sending out a Bishop, that he ought, if sent out, to have had a house and a suitable income; and I have reason to think, that

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representations to that effect have been sent home."

With reference to these letters, it should be understood that no public mark of respect whatever announced the arrival of the first episcopal governor of the Anglo-Indian Church. His appearance in his diocese was as completely unnoticed by the authorities as the first landing of a civilian or a cadet. If the Bishop regretted this circumstance, it was purely from the apprehension that the withholding of these outward demonstrations of honour might weaken his hands for the discharge of an office, the very novelty of which would demand all the aids and appliances which could be employed to testify the respect and concurrence of the government. His want of a residence, however, to which he also alludes in the above letter, was a most severe personal annoyance; and, besides, it was not only a distressing embarrasment, but a heavy disappointment: for though no house had been specifically provided for the Bishop, at the time of his leaving England, he had yet been led to believe, at the India Board, that some instructions would be sent out to the Supreme Government respecting suitable accommodation both for himself and for the several archdeacons. At none of the presidencies, it must be recollected, are there inns or hotels, to which a family may resort on their first landing; and it is conse-

quently usual for persons destined for that country, to come prepared with letters of introduction, which always secure them a hospitable reception on their arrival. For the Bishop of Calcutta, however, no letter of introduction could be deemed necessary; his character and office were of course sufficient to entitle him to a reception at the Government House; and it cannot be questioned that he and his family would have immediately been accommodated there, had the Governor-General, the Earl of Moira, been at Calcutta when the Bishop arrived. At that time, however, his lordship, who was also Commander-in-chief, was at a great distance from the capital, engaged in conducting the war with the Nepaulese. In the absence of the Governor-General, the offices of hospitality would naturally devolve on the Vice-President, Mr. Edmonstone; but it so happened, that, at the time of the Bishop's arrival, the house of this gentleman was already fully occupied. The third member of the council, however, Mr. Seton, on learning the arrival of the Bishop, most courteously invited his lordship and his family to his dwelling; and there he accordingly remained for some weeks, receiving the kindest entertainment and accommodation, until a suitable residence could be procured and furnished for his reception; for which, however, he was compelled to pay the enormous rent of 630*l.* per annum!

CHAPTER IV.

Review of the state of the English Church in India—Insufficiency of Clergy—Still fewer Churches—General state of Christianity in Hindostan—Syrian Christians—Armenians—Romish Establishments—Dutch Congregations—Danish Missions—Missions under the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Jews in India—Hindoos and Mahometans.

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No sooner did the Bishop sit down to contemplate his situation in India, and to make arrangements for the superintendence of the English Church in those provinces, than he found himself environed with numerous and complicated difficulties. Of these difficulties some, perhaps, were inseparable from the novelty of the function he had to sustain—(for under an aspect of novelty, it would inevitably present itself to his countrymen there)—though there was reason to hope that, as the nature of that office, and the intentions of the legislature should be better understood, such difficulties would gradually disappear. But others were of a more formidable character. One vexatious source of perplexity

was the indistinct and insufficient manner in which his episcopal powers were limited in the letters patent. His immediate duties had especial reference to the maintenance of Christianity among his own countrymen, according to the national form of worship and discipline: but the instrument by which the exercise of the episcopal functions was authorised, was, unfortunately, framed too exclusively with a view to the long-established ecclesiastical system of England, and with too little attention to the varied and peculiar local circumstances of British India.

In order that the reader may be enabled justly to appreciate the cares and embarrassments which the first English Bishop had to encounter, it will be necessary to state briefly the condition of our Church in that country, as respects the clergy, at the time when Dr. Middleton commenced his pastoral superintendence of it. In the earlier stages of our connection with the country, we hear only of a few mercantile settlements or factories, at which, perhaps, a military fort was subsequently erected, by permission of the native power. In other instances, as in the case of Bombay, a fortified city, with a small district attached, was ceded to the Company by political treaty. The civil portion of the English residents received their spiritual ministrations at the hands of clergymen selected by the Company

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at home, and placed, conformably to certain regulations, under the control of their local agents. The military, consisting of his Majesty's regiments from England, were usually supplied with chaplains from the King's army establishment, and were accordingly subject to military rule and discipline. With the increase of the Company's territories the King's army became proportionably extended; and by compact with the King's government, the Company bound themselves to maintain that force out of their own revenue, so long as it should remain on the continent of India; agreeing, at the same time, to provide it with a supply of clerical ministers from among their own chaplains. The clergy thus required for the spiritual duty of the European army continued, together with a few chaplains attached to the civil service, to form the clerical body of British India; and all of them, both civil and military, received their appointments from the Court of Directors, though they were nominated to particular stations by the local government of the country. The stations to which the chaplains were nominated, besides the presidencies, were usually those at which a King's regiment was cantoned; and, in addition to their religious duties with the military, their ministrations extended to such civil servants of the Company, with their families, as might be resident within their reach.—Such was the general provision for

the spiritual edification of our countrymen; and as long as the military stations were few, and the territorial possessions of the Company comparatively small, it might, perhaps, if regularly supplied, be not wholly inadequate to its purpose. CHAP. IV. 1814.

The gradual transition, however, from this state of things to one of immense extent and complication is now matter of history. In addition to the king's troops, amounting to 20,000 men, the Company came at length to form one or more European regiments of their own at each presidency, together with an European corps of artillery, and the European officers of a large native army, together with its medical staff. To these we must add the civil servants of the Company in the several judicial and political departments, and that of the revenue, the lawyers of the supreme courts, and the free merchants, planters, and mariners, who reside in the country by virtue of a license from the Company. Neither must we omit, that besides the congregations of natives under the charge of missionaries from the religious societies in England, there is a large population of the descendants of British parents, being of a mixed race, and having only the privileges of colonists, but for whose spiritual welfare it, of course, was indispensable that provision should be made. For such a body of Protestant Christians, scattered through the provinces of Hindostan, it is obvious that the

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services of a few military chaplains must now have been utterly inadequate. The total number of clergy, both civil and military, did not, there is reason to believe, in 1814, exceed thirty-two: in the proportion of fifteen for Bengal, twelve for Madras, and five for Bombay. This number, small as it was, was subject to continual reduction, by illness, death, necessary absence, or return to England. Such, for instance, was the amount of these casualties at Bombay, on the arrival of Archdeacon Barnes, in 1814, that he found at that presidency only one efficient clergyman on the establishment; and was compelled, himself, for some time, to undertake the ordinary duties of a chaplain.

In order to mitigate, in some slight degree, the evils of this lamentable deficiency, the Bombay government had, for a few years previously, permitted the only resident chaplain to make, occasionally, a tour through the districts of the presidency. For this service he received the allowance of 400 rupees a month; (a virtual acknowledgment of the propriety and justice of a regular provision for the expenses of such circuits,—which, yet, has hitherto been refused). The same practice, it is believed, was resorted to in other parts of India. The local governments had also occasionally solicited the services of a naval chaplain from such of the king's ships as visited the presidencies, for assistance in clerical

duties on shore. It is obvious that a system of expedients, like this, must be wholly insufficient to satisfy the religious necessities of the country. No one clergyman was within many days' journey of another. In several places, even where a considerable Christian congregation might be collected, no clerical persons were seen for many years. Many of the civil servants in India might be said to be almost in a state of excommunication from Christian ordinances, for twenty years together, with the exception of the opportunities afforded by an occasional visit to the seat of government. Not only the offices for marriage, and burial, but that of baptism also, were continually ministered by lay persons; generally, though not always, by the magistrate or commanding officer of the station. Numbers of young men, who received their appointments to India at a very early age, were left wholly without public religious instruction, and consequently were in danger of sinking, gradually and silently, into a state of virtual apostasy. In a climate, too, where death is busy, and where disease is continually undermining the firmest constitutions, it often happened that no pastor was at hand to administer to the sick and dying the emblems of that atonement on which alone we rest our hopes of pardon and acceptance; or to offer to the survivors the consolations of faith, and to awaken their consciences to the awful

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warnings of mortality. In short, multitudes of our brethren in India then lived and died without having the religion of their fathers brought home to their heart, or sensibly embodied to their sight. The consequences were, that the faith and virtue of Europeans were exposed to constant hazard of shipwreck, and that in the eyes of the Hindoo or Mussulman, the Christians often appeared to be little better than a godless, and almost an accursed, race. Without exaggeration it may be affirmed, that in India, for a long period of time, the more general impression respecting our countrymen was, that they were altogether destitute of religious sentiment or belief!

The pernicious effects of this deplorable deficiency were sometimes heavily aggravated by another circumstance, namely, that unworthy individuals were sometimes found to insinuate themselves into this sacred department of the public service. Of the Indian clergy, as a body, it is no more than bare justice to say, that there were among them many individuals of unquestioned piety, and valuable literary acquirements, pursuing a course of laborious usefulness in their holy calling. It cannot, however, be dissembled, that the patronage of the Honourable Court of Directors was, occasionally, dishonoured by persons of a very different description. In one instance, too, it certainly did

occur that an individual had ventured on the performance of religious functions in a character higher than that to which he had been ordained. But, even with regular and well disposed clergymen, an enervating climate, and the absence of superior superintendence, would sometimes give occasion to inattention and improper practices. Now, in all countries, a careless, immoral, or irreverent minister of religion is among the bitterest plagues with which society can be infested. But in India the mischief was in a tenfold measure destructive. If the salt which was so thinly scattered lost its savour, what but universal decay and corruption could be expected? At a later period, indeed, the Honourable Court most vigilantly guarded against any such abuse of their confidence; and the chaplains sent out by them were as eminent for their blameless and religious lives as the generality of their brethren in England. The grand evil, next to the want of regular episcopal superintendence, was the insufficiency of the number of the clergy; and, it is painful to add, that, few as they were, the churches, or places set apart for divine service, were still fewer. At each presidency, or seat of the local governments, there was one church, and one only: for the second church at Calcutta was private property, and the chaplain who officiated there was specially appointed to that service by the

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Court. In the country there were one or two more churches at certain of the more important stations; but in most of the places where the clergy were called upon to officiate, no such provision was made. A mess-room or a barrack, and, in some instances, the official court of the magistrate, was the only convenience that could be obtained for the assembling of a Christian congregation, and the public exercise of prayer and praise to the Almighty. The following extract from an official document, issued under the Bengal government in 1807, affords a curious but melancholy illustration of the state of things:—"The Commander-in-chief has directed a riding-school to be included in the estimates for public buildings at Meerut, upon the scale of the riding-schools at Ghazeepoor and Cawnpoor, *for the double purpose of a place of worship and a riding school*[1]*!*"

Such was the aspect under which Christianity was exhibited in India by its European governors, when it became the diocese of an English bishop; in India, which was covered with ancient religious institutions, many of them liberally and even magnificently endowed, and with stately places of worship provided respectively with their appropriate establishments of priests and ministers. Every where the

[1] Minutes of the Bengal Government, May 28, 1807.

European was surrounded with monuments of the piety of idolaters and Mahometans; and often with memorials of Christian zeal, though debased and corrupted by error and superstition. But he sought, almost in vain, for any thing to remind him that India was now ruled by men who professed the Gospel in its primitive and undefiled purity. He might even traverse over a large portion of our Indian provinces without any external assurance that its present possessors were bound together by creed, or discipline, or ordinances of religious worship, or by any thing that deserved the name of religious communion.

It will, however, be impossible to understand completely the position in which Bishop Middleton found himself placed, without a brief survey of the general state of Christianity in Hindostan, when it became the diocese of an English prelate. It is not, for a moment, to be doubted that his thoughts had been deeply occupied with such a review in the interval between his appointment to the office, and the moment of commencing the exercise of his functions. It is, therefore, desirable that the prospect which then presented itself to his contemplation should, as distinctly as possible, be displayed to the reader of his life.

The first, and on some accounts the most interesting object, that offered itself to his attention, was the ancient Syrian Church, which

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(to borrow the words of his successor, Bishop Heber), had been for ages shedding its lonely and awful light over the woods and mountains of Malabar. By this community no less a personage was claimed as their founder than the Apostle Saint Thomas. It is, however, the more probable opinion, that they were driven from Syria in times of persecution against the Nestorian faith, which they had uniformly professed, and that they owe the title often ascribed to them by the Portuguese, of St. Thomè Christians, to some early chief or bishop of that name. A more particular account of the past fortunes, and present condition of this venerable church, will be given in another part of this memoir, which relates to the visit paid to it by Bishop Middleton in 1816. At present it will be sufficient to state, that at the time of his arrival in India, they were known to inhabit the coast between the mountains and the sea, from Cape Comorin to Cranganore; that a considerable portion of them still remained in communion with the Church of Rome, whose yoke had been forcibly imposed on them by the Portuguese, at the close of the sixteenth century; that the rest were supposed to possess about fifty churches, acknowledging the *Jacobite* Patriarch of Antioch, although their faith had been originally *Nestorian;* that while the language in common use among them was that of the

country, the Malayalim, their liturgy and their Scriptures were in the ancient Syriac: and that so tenacious was their attachment to this sacred dialect, that the holy see was compelled to concede the use of it to the churches under her dominion.

Of the Armenian Christians, it has been remarked, that they are eminently qualified for the office of extending the knowledge of Christianity throughout the East. "They are to be found in every principal city of Asia; they are the general merchants of the East, and are in constant motion from Canton to Constantinople[1]." They have, immemorially, had the character of an industrious and enterprising people; and what is a much higher praise, they have always been distinguished for an inflexible adherence to their faith, and a steady resistance to religious oppression, whether inflicted by Papists or Mahometans. They have never formed any considerable settlement without building a church; and they have, accordingly, a church at each of the three capitals of British India, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, besides others in the interior of the country. They are supplied with ministers from their own establishments in Persia, and are frequently visited by bishops, accompanied by archdeacons, sent

[1] Buch. Christ. Res. p. 254.

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by the Patriarch of Echmiatzin. In their worship and their faith they differ, in several respects, both from the Greek and Latin Churches; and it is somewhat remarkable, that though they acknowledge seven sacraments, these are not all of them the same with those of the Church of Rome[1]. It is supposed that the whole of their congregations in India do not amount to more than a few thousand souls. It will easily be imagined that the venerable antiquity of these Armenian and Syrian communities, and their freedom from essential error and corruption, would make them objects of solemn and affecting interest to a mind, like that of Bishop Middleton's, profoundly conversant with the early history of the Christian Church.

The influence, or at least the name, of the Church of Rome, had penetrated into almost every region of the East; so that (as the Bishop afterwards remarked in the course of his primary visitation) it is almost impossible to move in any direction without tracing her footsteps. And of all the Roman Catholic nations, the Portuguese appears to have been unrivalled in energy and zeal, and to have done more, in their mistaken and superstitious manner, for the religion of the Cross, than all the other European settlers

[1] La Croze, Vol. I. p. 308.

and colonists together. The vestiges which that once enterprising people have left of themselves will, indeed, never be wholly effaced. The Portuguese language, though generally corrupted into a mere jargon, prevails, at this moment, wherever there are, or have been, settlements of that nation. Their descendants are found on the coasts from the vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope to the sea of China; and the Portuguese language may, perhaps, be considered as one favourable medium for the diffusion of the true religion throughout the maritime provinces of the East[1].

The government of the Roman Catholic congregations, of every description, throughout

[1] See Dr. C. Buchanan's Christian Researches, p. 179, 180, ed. 1819. The posterity of the Portuguese, the author tells us, are to be found on the coasts "beginning from Sofala, Mocaranga, Mozambique (where there is a bishop), Zinzebar, and Melinda (where there are many churches), on the East of Africa, and extending round by Babelmandel, Diu, Surat, Daman, Bombay, Goa, Calicut, Cochin, Angengo, Tutecorin, Negapatam, Jaffnapatam, Columbo, Point de Galle, Tranquebar, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Porto-Novo, Pondicherry, Sadras, Madras, Masulipatam, Chinsurah, Bandel, Chittagong, Macao, and Canton; and almost all the islands of the Malayan Archipelago, which were first conquered by the Portuguese." Dr. Buchanan adds, "that he visited most of the places above enumerated; and in many of them could not hear of a single copy of the Portuguese Scriptures."

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India, from the banks of the Chrishna to Cape Comorin, was committed to two titular archbishops, two titular bishops, and three bishops *in partibus*, with the title of Apostolic Vicars. The two archbishops were those of Goa, and of Cranganore; of whom the former is Metropolitan of India, and who also has the title of Primate of the East. The See of Cranganore had been vacant for forty years, and the bishopric had, during that period, been administered by a vicar-general, appointed by the Archbishop of Goa. The two bishoprics were those of St. Thomas, near Madras, (the ancient Meliapore), and of Cochin, in Malabar, which also had both been unoccupied for sixteen years, the distracted condition of Europe having disabled the Portuguese court from filling up those vacant sees. These four bishops had been, at all times, appointed by the court of Portugal, which, since the first establishment of its dominion in India, had uniformly claimed the exclusive right of ecclesiastical patronage in that country, and had viewed, with extreme jealousy, the spiritual interference and missionary labours of all other Catholics. These pretensions, however, were by no means recognised or respected by the Holy See, which, from the first, had asserted its spiritual supremacy, and appointed bishops *in partibus*, with the title of Vicars Apostolic, in various parts of Asia, under the immediate control of the

congregation *de propagandâ* at Rome, and wholly independent of the titular bishops; and this, in spite of the iterated protestations of the court of Portugal. These apostolic vicars were three in number; of whom one was fixed at Bombay, another at Hierapolis, or Verapoly near Cochin; and a third at Pondicherry. Each of them had at their disposal a small body of missionaries, both Europeans and natives. At this time these missions were in a state of great feebleness and languor. The wars and convulsions of Europe had long interrupted the supply of European missionaries; and, without their assistance, the native clergy were wholly unqualified for the labour of preserving them.

The Archbishop of Goa is said to have had within his jurisdiction nearly 300,000 souls. Under him was a native clergy, consisting of 1,500[1] individuals, both secular and regular. The jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Cranganore extended to Madura, and other districts, and seventy or eighty years since, comprehended above 200,000 native Christians; but was, at this period, reduced to a third of that number. The bishopric of Cochin contained somewhat more than 60,000 Christians; that of St. Thomas

[1] Dr. Claudius Buchanan says there are 3,000 priests belonging to Goa, who are either resident there, or stationed on their cures at a distance.—Christian Researches, p. 181, ed. 1819.

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50,000, including natives and half-castes. Of the apostolic vicars, the bishop resident in Bombay had under his care a number not exceeding 12,000 souls, chiefly half-castes, who were attended by Italian Carmelite friars. The authority of the apostolic vicar at Pondicherry, extended over the Carnatic and the Mysore, in which countries there were said to be about 35,000 Christians. The mission under the control of the apostolic vicar at Verapoly was also attended by Italian Carmelites. It comprised the country of Travancore, and was the most flourishing of the three. It is said to have reckoned about 120,000 native Christians, who were attended by 100 native priests, and were permitted to retain the Syriac language in their services. The education of these priests, and their preparation for the ministry, was entrusted to the Carmelites, then three or four in number, in their seminary at Verapoly [1].

Thus it appears that there were no less than seven papal prelates appointed to superintend the interests of the Romish Church in British India!

[1] The above account of the Roman Catholic establishments is taken chiefly from the letters of the Abbé Dubois. The views and opinions of this writer respecting the prospects of Christianity in India, are notoriously of very little value. But it is presumed that his statements may be safely relied upon, relative to the external condition of his own Church in that country.

And corresponding to the number of her spiritual establishments was, in some instances at least, their external and visible grandeur. "The magnificence of the churches of Goa," says Dr. C. Buchanan, "exceeds any idea I had formed from the previous description. Goa is properly a city of churches; and the wealth of provinces seems to have been expended in their construction. The ancient specimens of architecture, at this place, far excel any thing that has been attempted in modern times, in any other part of the East. The chapel of the palace is built after the plan of St. Peter's at Rome. The church of St. Dominic, the founder of the Inquisition, is decorated with paintings of Italian masters. St. Francis Xavier lies enshrined in a monument of exquisite art, and his coffin is enchased with silver and precious stones. The cathedral of Goa is worthy of one of the principal cities of Europe; and the church and convent of the Augustinians (in which I now reside) is a noble pile of building, situated on an eminence, and has a magnificent appearance from afar[1]."

It must, indeed, be always kept in mind, that this splendid external apparatus, combined with the celebrated missionary labours of the Jesuits, had done little or nothing to preserve Christianity from a state of the most deplorable

[1] Christian Researches, p. 157, 158.

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degradation; and that, in many places, the religious worship of the native Romish Christians exhibited a strange mixture of idolatry and true religion, a monstrous coalition between Christ and Belial. Neither ought it to be forgotten that an aspect of withering and ferocious bigotry was given to the whole system, by the establishment of the Inquisition, which, till towards the conclusion of the war in Europe, was maintained at Goa in its supreme and plenary jurisdiction. And yet, in spite of all these considerations, it is, surely, quite impossible to turn, without certain feelings of humiliation, from this view of the ample resources, and splendid ornaments of Indian Catholicism, and then to look upon the parsimony and languor which had hitherto disgraced the proceedings of Protestant Christianity in Asia. While the Church of Rome was thus prodigally and conspicuously armed, the Church of England was left almost without the means of making herself known in our Asiatic dominions. The imperfect system of ministration by chaplains, as detailed above (if system it could be called), was wholly unfit to preserve or perpetuate in the hearts of Englishmen, an image of the religious polity of their native land. The English clergy appeared in India detached from all connection with an episcopal establishment. They were subject to no ecclesiastical jurisdiction; they were

far removed from the influence of any ecclesiastical superior; they were the mere stipendiary servants of the government. The authority to which they were amenable, was purely of a secular description: and the discipline by which they were regulated, approached more nearly to a military than a spiritual character. If, therefore, the Church of England were known, or remembered in India, it may justly be attributed, in a great degree, to the successful operations of the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had long maintained several missionary stations in the south of India, for the most part under the care of Protestant ministers.

Previously to any notice of the history and state of these missions, it will be necessary to advert briefly to the labours of other Protestant nations for the propagation of Christianity in these parts of the world. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Dutch had wrested from the crown of Portugal several valuable possessions on the coast of Ceylon; and they appear to have had considerable success in their endeavours to establish Christianity in their settlements. When these possessions were surrendered to the British army in 1796, the number of native Protestant Christians is stated to have been upwards of 340,000; but there is reason to believe this statement to have been

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exaggerated. The districts in which these Christians resided, had been divided by the Dutch into 240 churchships or parishes; in each of which, one Protestant school was erected, and attached to the Church. A seminary was likewise established for the instruction of native youths of promising abilities, in the Dutch language, as a medium for the acquisition of knowledge which might qualify them for the office of catechists, or of preachers among their own countrymen. Besides several less important works, the Dutch published a considerable portion of the Scriptures in the Tamul or Malabar language, which is spoken in the north of Ceylon; and also in the Cingalese, which is the common language of the island. At the time when these settlements fell into the hands of the English, the troubles of Europe had greatly interrupted the supply of European ministers; and, for some years after that period, the religious interests of the Cingalese Christians appear to have received but little attention from the British government. When their notice was directed to this object, it was found that though the number of those who professed the Gospel was considerable, their knowledge of its doctrine was very trifling, and their acquaintance with its spirit almost none. It is to be feared that, if the missionary exertions of the Portuguese were often marked by violence or duplicity, those of

the Dutch were far from being unexceptionable; since they required a profession of Christianity as an indispensable qualification for office. The natural result was an imposing multitude of converts, with little of the power of the religion which they had embraced.

From these imperfect, and almost abortive proceedings, we turn with satisfaction to the efforts and undertakings of the Danish mission, instituted by the piety of Frederick IV. King of Denmark. By this monarch those great missionaries Ziegenbalg and Plutscho were despatched to the ancient Danish settlement of Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel. The labours of these exemplary men were prompted by the purest zeal, and guided by the most sober discretion; and no difficulty or discouragement could break their perseverance. After a residence of twelve years in India, Ziegenbalg visited Europe, where he was most graciously countenanced, not only by his own sovereign, but by George I. King of England. He also met with great kindness from Archbishop Wake, by whose good offices he was introduced to the notice of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In 1719, he finished his Tamul version of the Bible, having devoted fourteen years to the work. In 1720, he closed his apostolic labours. His remains, and those of his fellow missionary Grundler, are deposited by the altar of the mission

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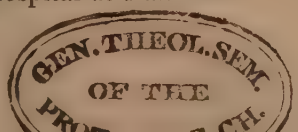
church at Tranquebar. They were followed by a succession of able and devoted men, who, pursuing plans so happily begun, translated the Scriptures, established schools, and addressed the words of eternal life to the natives in the language of the country. That the sacred cause prospered, on the whole, in their hands, will appear from the fact, that in 1740, the Royal Danish Mission numbered 3,700 native Christians, and that in 1787, the number was 17,700; partly natives, partly descendants of natives and Europeans. The operations of the mission, however, were at length so much enfeebled by the insufficiency of supplies from Denmark, that it was, subsequently, thought advisable to transfer a portion of their congregation and schools to the patronage of the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

It was in the year 1710, that this Society first assisted in the good work, by liberal grants of money, stores, books, and a printing press, and by undertaking the management of such charitable donations as might be entrusted to them, for the support of Protestant missions. Encouraged by the example and the success of Ziegenbalg, and his brethren, Mr. Stevenson, the English chaplain, after some time, formed a native school at Madras; and with a view to the establishment of a mission in that part of the country, the Danish Missionary, Schultze, was placed near

this settlement, under the immediate patronage of the Society in London; and, in 1729, had, in spite of manifold obstructions, succeeded in collecting a respectable native congregation, amounting to about 140 souls. This was the earliest of the English missions in India. In the year 1750, the Governor in Council put them in possession of a church, with a house and premises adjoining, which had been appropriated to the use of the Roman Catholic Portuguese, while Madras was in possession of the French.

In 1737 the foundation of the Protestant mission at Cuddalore was laid by the missionaries Sartorius and Geisler. This has since become one of the chief stations of the Society on the coast of Coromandel. In 1767 the mission church, now in use at Cuddalore, was erected, partly by private subscription, but chiefly by the liberality of the government, which also supported the mission by considerable donations of land. Its funds were further augmented, and its necessities from time to time relieved, by the contributions of charitable individuals, particularly by the liberality of the missionaries Kiernander and Ostervald. In 1800, the church had fallen to decay, and was rebuilt at the sole expense of the missionary Gerickè, who devoted to the purpose the whole allowance which he received from the government for officiating at the Naval Hospital at Madras.



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About twenty miles to the south of Tranquebar stands the sea-port of Negapatam. In 1772 this place appears to have been twice visited by Danish missionaries. In 1782, when it had been taken by the English, Gerickè established a mission there, and, with the consent of the British government, took possession of an excellent church, built by the Dutch government in 1774, and of a small chapel belonging to the Tamul congregation, together with two pieces of burying ground adjoining. It became intimately connected with the Society in 1788, and since that time has continued under their protection. Among its resources may be numbered, an allowance, bequeathed by Gerickè, for the relief of the Protestant poor of the place; and a monthly payment of forty pagodas from the government, for the same purpose. This payment is still continued, and is administered by the Society's missionaries, who report their distribution to the district committee at Madras.

The mission at Trichinopoly was founded by the incomparable Christian Frederick Swartz, whose name it is impossible to mention without pausing, for a moment, in thankfulness to that good Providence which directed him to the field of missionary labour. In that field he toiled for nearly half a century: during which period he exemplified the irresistible power of Christian integrity, and "retrieved the character of Eu-

ropeans from the imputation of general depravity[1]." By those who have the honour of Christianity at heart, it will always be remembered with exultation, that this man—the lowly servant and messenger of Jesus Christ,—was thought by the government, in a most critical juncture of their political affairs in the Mysore, to be the most fit person to be entrusted with a pacific and confidential mission to the court of Hyder; and that his saint-like virtue converted the heathen rajahs of Tanjore into the protectors, and almost the fathers, of the Christian establishments in their dominions. It was by the advice of the Rev. Benjamin Schultze, on his return from India, that this illustrious missionary had girded himself up for the work of his future destination. Having acquired the Tamul language in the celebrated Orphan School at Halle, he embarked, in 1750, with two other missionaries, from England for Tranquebar, under the joint auspices of the college at Copenhagen, and of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London.

In 1776, the Trichinopoly mission was more especially recommended by Swartz to the protection of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The result of his application was the establishment of an English school for Eu-

[1] These are the words of Colonel Fullarton (commander of the army in Southern India in 1783), in a letter to the government of Madras.

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ropean children, by the missionaries Huttman and Gerickè, which, however, they proposed to manage, if possible, without imposing any burden on the Society's resources. The number of Christians at Trichinopoly (including natives and mixed descendants of Europeans) appears, in 1792, to have been about 200; in 1807, 330; from 1811 to 1817 about 460, with no considerable fluctuation.

The early proceedings of the missionaries had gradually prepared the way for the extension of the Gospel beyond the limits of the Danish East India Company (to which they at first, in prudence, had confined themselves) and for its introduction into the kingdom of Tanjore. As early as the year 1732, that country had been visited by them, and the result was the establishment of small schools, and some provision for the instruction and pastoral care of the dispersed Christians by itinerant native ministers. About 1769 the Christians of Tanjore were visited by Swartz, where his virtue won the confidence of the rajah, and laid the foundation of that amicable intercourse which has been so signal a blessing to the Christian cause in Southern India; and in 1772 he addressed to the Society, from Tanjore, a statement of his proceedings there. In 1779 the foundation of the mission church was laid, and in 1780 the building was completed, and consecrated by the name of Christ's Church.

In 1784, schools were established by Swartz, at the suggestion of Mr. Sullivan, the resident, both in the Marawa country, and near the fort of Tanjore; the latter with the consent of the rajah, who granted forty pagodas a month for their support. In 1787, Ameer Sing, the immediate successor of the rajah Tuljajee, in compliance with a promise made by his brother, before his decease, to Mr. Swartz, appropriated to the use of the schools, and more especially of the orphans, a village, affording the yearly income of 500 pagodas (200*l.*); and, in the same year, the East India Company directed the government to pay towards the schools, then established, or about to be established, 100*l.* per annum. From this time the mission gradually extended in every direction; and, by donations of money and land, a fund was provided, from which the support of teachers and catechists was defrayed, and chapels and school-rooms were built, at various distances from the central station.

It appears, therefore, that the Society at this time had distinct missions at Madras, Trichinopoly, and Cuddalore: and, when the successes of the French had interrupted all communication with the last of these places, their missionaries formed an establishment at Calcutta also. This mission, however, from various causes was shortly discontinued; and on its abandonment, the Danish missionary sold the church, still known

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by the name of the Mission Church, in Calcutta, to some English gentlemen, who obtained one of the Company's chaplains for its service. The missions in the south of India, were still maintained, with various success, in spite of multiplied difficulties, and continued to extend their influence over a considerable portion of the provinces lying between the latitude of 13° north, and the southern extremity of the peninsula. These were the establishments which, it will be remembered, were recommended by the Society to the especial regard of Bishop Middleton. How faithfully he attended to their claims will be seen hereafter. At the time of his arrival, the native Christians of those missions occupied seven principal stations, Vepery, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Tinnevelly, Cuddalore, Madura, and Ramnad. Some native Protestant Christians were found also, in small numbers, scattered through many of the villages in the south of India. It is supposed that about 23,000 is the number of natives, in those districts, who profess the Protestant faith, and are attached to the Protestant Episcopal government. These were the missions which subsequently called forth the memorable words of Bishop Heber, "Here is the strength of the Christian cause in India."

Some other Protestant societies had, likewise, within the last twenty years, been labouring, with great zeal, but inconsiderable success, for

the propagation of Christianity in Hindostan. Of these the most active was the London Baptist Society, whose missionaries settled themselves at the Danish factory of Serampore, near Calcutta, and applied themselves to the cultivation of the native languages, with a view to the translation of the Holy Scriptures. By their own accounts it would appear that they had engaged in completing such versions in more than twenty different languages. Of these, however, several are only dialects of the same tongue. And, besides, there is great reason to apprehend that the anxiety of these truly pious and disinterested men, for the completion of so good a work, has produced, in many instances, a very hasty and imperfect representation of the original.

It is an awful, and almost overpowering consideration, that while these labours and projects were gathering a few thousands within the fold of the Great Shepherd, the vast mass of the people of India remained still given over to those *strong delusions* which, for ages, had held them in bondage. The whole population of the countries subject to the dominion or the control of the East India Company, and now constituting the diocese of Calcutta, cannot perhaps be very accurately estimated. It is supposed, however, to amount to nearly one hundred millions. Of these, it is probable that about one seventh acknowledge the religion of Mahomet, while the

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rest are votaries of the Brahminical, Janist, or Bhuddist superstitions. Of the Jewish tribes there are, likewise, small remnants scattered over the land, the aggregate numbers of which may, perhaps, be reckoned at 10,000. Of these there are two divisions, known by the distinguishing appellations of the White and the Black Jews. The latter of these have probably been settled in India several ages longer than the former: although they are regarded by their fairer brethren as an inferior, and, comparatively, an impure race[1]. The White Jews date their emigration about A.C. 508, which singularly coincides with the date of a persecution in Persia, whence, most likely, they found their way to India.

The foregoing representation will enable us to enter into the feelings with which the Bishop surveyed the extensive region of duty now assigned to him. He saw spread out before him a harvest-field of immense magnitude; or rather (as he himself illustrated the case at a later period of his residence), a vast extent of seemingly impenetrable jungle, of which he was to commence the clearing, almost by the strength of his single arm. Nothing could well

[1] For some account of the white and black Jews of Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, see Dr. C. Buchanan's Christian Researches, p. 221, &c. Ed. 1819.

be more bewildering than the prospect presented to him by the whole state of religion in all its divisions and varieties. The first object that offered itself was the impure and absurd superstition which held the natives in a degrading servitude, and which, unhappily, tended to connect religion, in the eyes of thoughtless strangers, with the notion of every thing contemptible and licentious. Secondly, there was the appalling spectacle of an European society, withdrawn, in a great measure, from the restraints and influences of Christianity, by the want of regular religious ordinances and ministrations; and maintaining so lifeless a profession of the Gospel, as sometimes to leave the idolaters in doubt whether the Europeans had a Deity to worship! Lastly, there was another consideration full of most formidable discouragement to one who felt the establishment of regularity and union to be one grand object towards which his efforts ought to be steadily directed; and this was, that even where Christianity had taken possession of the soil, the absence of all systematic discipline and culture had left it to spring up, with the appearance of a wild and tangling luxuriance. One among the many unhappy consequences of this neglect was, that our holy faith disclosed herself to the natives of Hindostan not with that *form or comeliness*, or with that dignified aspect of unity and con-

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sistency, which should induce them to *desire* and to honour it; but in a condition, which might tempt them to believe, that the God we worship is not the God of order, but the God of anarchy and confusion. This statement, it is earnestly hoped, will not be ascribed to any feeling at all approaching to disrespect towards the various religious denominations, which, independently of the regular clergy, were zealously labouring, in several parts of India, for the advancement of our common Christianity. It is offered purely as a representation of facts, without the knowledge of which, it would be absolutely impossible to comprehend the manifold obstructions and disadvantages, which previous circumstances had placed in the way of the first Protestant Bishop of India.

CHAPTER V.

Bishop Middleton's proceedings for the regulation of the Indian Church—Representations from the Archdeacon of Bombay—Marriage Licenses—Declines the nomination to the Provostship of Fort William College—Scottish Presbyterians—Appointment of Dr. Bryce—His petition on Scotch Marriages—Imperfect definition of Episcopal powers in the Letters Patent—Licensing the Clergy—Regulations of the Governor-General in Council—In part rescinded by the Court of Directors.

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When the Bishop once found himself settled in his own residence in Calcutta, his first care was to ascertain the peculiar and local circumstances of his sacred charge. The official recognition of his ecclesiastical powers was unavoidably delayed by the absence of the Governor-General. In the mean time he proceeded with those arrangements which were clearly pointed out by the letters patent, for the regulation of the three archdeaconries. His first step was to nominate fit persons in each to act as registrars, and to forward to them the necessary official documents. His next was to give institution to his archdeacons, a proceeding expressly enjoined by the patent,

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notwithstanding they were authorised by that instrument "to enter into and possess their offices, by virtue of their appointment from the crown." As institution could not, without great inconvenience, be conferred in the cathedral on the archdeacons of Madras and Bombay, he directed a commission for that purpose to the senior chaplain of those presidencies; and, at the same time, assigned to each of them his appropriate place or seat in the principal church of his respective Presidency. He also appointed certain days, on which it was his desire that the archdeacons should occupy the pulpit; fixing for that purpose, nearly the same days that he had chosen for preaching in his own cathedral. He further requested that, as they had no parochial cure, they would perform such further duty as they might deem advisable. Lastly, he framed such regulations as he thought calculated to facilitate the transaction of business at Madras and Bombay, and directed that all official correspondence between the clergy and their respective governments should pass through the hands of the archdeacons.

From the very first, he entered into free and unreserved correspondence, not only with his archdeacons, but with several of his clergy, being satisfied that nothing could more effectually aid him in the discharge of his obligations, than a confidential intercourse with persons who had

long been resident in India, and who, like himself, were pledged to maintain, or to commend to the eastern world, the faith of Christ, and the holy ordinances of our national Church. From the Archdeacon of Bombay he learned, with deep regret, that there were but five chaplains attached to that presidency; and that, of these, *one only* was at this time resident in India; a deficiency which threw upon the archdeacon himself the duties of a chaplain, in assisting at the Presidency Church, and in attending the King's regiments resident in Bombay and its vicinity. He further represented that throughout the provinces subject to the government of Bombay, there was but a single church; and that, in consequence of this deficiency of ministers and places of worship, the out-stations, military cantonments, and civil residences, were left destitute of the public ordinances and private ministrations of religion; a state of things rendered the more afflicting by the circumstance, that the English residents were found to be generally well-affected towards the Church, and anxious to receive the benefits of her holy offices. Something, it was hoped, might be effected by the Right Honourable Sir Evan Nepean, the governor of Bombay, who had uniformly honoured the cause of Christianity by his personal example, and by his ready co-operation for its advancement. It was under his immediate patronage that the archdeacon

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early prepared a plan for the Christian education of the numerous children of British soldiers and half castes, who had till that time been consigned to a state of miserable ignorance and moral abandonment. In addition to these more crying evils, the archdeacon made known to the Bishop the lesser mischiefs arising from certain irregular practices which prevailed with respect to the celebration of matrimony and the administration of baptism. It appeared that in the absence of clergymen, marriages had been usually celebrated by military officers and civil servants; and that, under the plea of necessity, the sacrament of baptism had been often administered by the hands of laymen.

In reply to these communications, the Bishop expressed the highest satisfaction with the plan for education, which had been adopted at Bombay, on the admirable principles of the National Society, and gladly accepted the office of patron. He further engaged for a liberal subscription annually towards its support. "I feel very much interested," he writes[1] to the archdeacon, "about your school; and I shall be glad to know what you are doing, when you are sufficiently advanced to be doing any thing. I know that these great machines are not easily put into motion!" And then follow some expressions

[1] In a letter dated May 26, 1815.

indicating dissatisfaction at the scantiness of his salary, and which are inserted here for the purpose of shewing, that his uneasiness on this head was a feeling wholly untainted with mercenary or selfish motives. "I will not," he says, "forget to send you a subscription: but, really, the demands upon me here are such, that my expenses tread very closely on the heels of my receipts. *The revenues are too little, if it was expected that I should do much; and too much, if it was intended that I should do nothing.*" With regard to the incorrect proceedings to which the archdeacon had adverted, the Bishop could, at that time, do little more than join in lamenting them, as the almost unavoidable results of an insufficient establishment of clergy. He had himself already witnessed and deplored the same effects at Calcutta, and was deeply sensible of the necessity of reform. On the subject of marriage he could not but feel that the English canon law, which required a license, or the publication of banns, was imperative upon him, and upon his clergy. The establishment of episcopal jurisdiction, he conceived, must be held to supersede the power hitherto assumed by the civil authorities of granting marriage licenses. For the present, however, he thought it best, for various reasons, to content himself with generally exhorting his clergy to the strictest possible conformity with the canons wherever they were not found to be

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clearly inapplicable; reserving to himself the right of exercising his own judgment on such cases, whenever they should be presented to his consideration.

In the month of April, 1815, the Bishop first became fully sensible of the formidable peculiarities of an eastern climate. The attack, however, under which he suffered, was not one that indicated danger. On the contrary, the complaint was regarded by his friends and attendants as a most auspicious circumstance, since it probably saved him from a more alarming malady. In a letter to Archdeacon Barnes, he describes the manifold inflictions of this disorder; which, in truth, appears well fitted to discipline the patience, even though it should preserve the constitution, of the sufferer.

Calcutta, April 29, 1815.

Your letter of the 10th, which I received yesterday, reminded me that I was sadly in arrear in my correspondence with you. But, in truth, I have been overwhelmed with concerns of one kind or another; and what is worse, I have suffered, and am still suffering, very serious inconvenience from what is called the *prickly heat*. This disorder is here a subject of *congratulation*, as it is supposed to be in lieu of a fever; and this is the only view in which it is tolerable. It has ignited my whole frame:

and what with the sensations of pricking, and burning, and itching, and soreness, and lassitude, and irritability, I am little qualified for any thing that requires attention. CHAP. V. 1815.

The distressing complaint to which the Bishop alludes, continued to harass him for a considerable time after writing the above; and to a degree, which was likely to keep long and fresh in his recollection, his obligations to its *conservative* influence! In the letter to archdeacon Barnes, which has been already adverted to, (dated May 26, 1815,) he says,—"Between three and four weeks have elapsed since I last wrote to you, with a promise that I would write again in a few days: but since that time the complaint I mentioned to you has increased to such a degree, that I have not had a tolerable night's rest, and have been all the day in a state of such irritation and torment, that I have rarely been able to collect myself for half an hour together. My medical attendant has never known the complaint to exist in the same degree. I hope that its violence has abated; though the continuance of the extreme heat of the weather has been much against me. The thermometer, about two o'clock, *in the shade*, varies from 93° to 96°!" His lordship then, in spite of the interruption occasioned by this vexatious disorder, proceeds, at considerable length, to the discussion of various important

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matters; and, among them, to that source of inextricable embarrassment, the unsettled state of the matrimonial law in India.—"I am still unable to say any thing decisive upon the subject of marriages. The Supreme Court are certainly empowered by their charter 'to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in the same manner as it is exercised in the diocese of London.' These are the words: and they construe this to extend to the granting of *marriage licenses*. I believe it has nothing to do with it. It extends, no doubt, to the decision of matrimonial causes, divorce, &c.; but as to granting of licenses, it was never thought of here till within a few years; when it occurred to some of the officers of the court, that it might be a source of emolument. The court acted under their charter a great many years without making this discovery. For my own part, I see no means of settling this question, but by reference to the government, and to legal opinion, at home. Indeed the whole question of marriage law in India is involved in so much uncertainty, that something must be declared authoritatively on the subject; and an affair is now proceeding which is likely to bring on the discussion. The daughter of a gentleman here wishes to marry a young man in college. The Governor-General withholds his consent. The Supreme Court, in consequence, refuses a license; for their *licenses* are never granted,

but when *leave* is already given;—and the parent, therefore, insists on the publication of banns. The clergyman must, of course, comply, unless the government will save him harmless, (for the question will be tried,) and how they can do this, it is not easy to see. At any rate, they will often be called upon for such indemnifications, when the door has once been opened. It is possible the business will be got over in the present instance; but it can only be a temporary expedient. As to the marriages of young men in college, there must be a check somewhere. And as to the publication of banns, it would be merely nugatory with respect to young men whose parents and guardians are at home. There could be no use in publishing banns, where they could not be forbidden; and, under the colour of a legal proceeding, the writers would be ruined!"

One other passage is here added from this letter, because it shews the extreme anxiety of the Bishop that our religion should not be exhibited to the natives of India under a contemptible and penurious exterior:

"Of your church at Surat, I cannot speak with very high commendation; it will certainly accommodate a good many persons, but nothing like a thousand, supposing them to be crowded together as close as they can sit. I do not think these barn-like edifices are very honourable to

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those who possess the revenue of this country. Every chapel should have at least a cupola with a bell, and every church a spire or tower. It is quite idle to say that men may worship God any where: they every where require to be assisted by the power of association; and, in the midst of heathens, they should exceed a little the ordinary measure of expense to make religion visible. What must the worshipper in mosques and pagodas, think of men who, possessing all the resources of the country, and pretending to a better faith, worship their Maker in buildings not distinguishable from barracks or godorons?"

From a letter of the Bishop's to archdeacon Barnes, some months later, (namely, October 20, 1815) it appears that the plan of the church at Surat had undergone a revision, which was entirely to the Bishop's satisfaction. "I am exceedingly pleased," he says, "with the plan of your *chapel* at Surat: it is really as neat and appropriate a building as I ever saw; and I wish you would express, as opportunity may offer, my perfect satisfaction, that the government has been pleased to attend to my suggestions. I would observe that perhaps it may be as well, from certain associations, to substitute a weather-cock for the cross; and, certainly, the seats should be placed across the church, and not lengthwise, upon the obvious principle, that people hear better with both ears than with one;

besides, that the attention is kept up by seeing the person who addresses them. You will be pleased to hear that, including a chapel at the gaol here, Surat chapel will be one of four now building in India; pray direct that it be placed with the altar to the East." The English reader may possibly smile at these precautions, especially the last. In India, however, it appears that they were indispensable. In a subsequent letter to the archdeacon, dated October, 1818, the Bishop felt it necessary to repeat this caution with respect to this chapel, which was then at last to be built: "Pray request Mr. Carr," he says, "to take care that it be built in the proper direction, east and west; so that the altar be eastward. The architects in India seem rather to affect variety than uniformity in this particular. There has been sad irregularity!"

In the autumn of this year (1815) the supreme government forwarded to the Bishop, an extract from a despatch of the Court of Directors, authorising them to appoint the Bishop of Calcutta, provost of the college of Fort William, but with the express injunction that no additional emolument was to be assigned to him, it being a part of his episcopal duty. This institution, it is well known, was originally projected by the Marquis Wellesley, for the education of young men destined for the civil service; and was actually established, under his government, in 1800, upon

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a scale of almost magnificent liberality. After it had flourished for nearly seven years, it was greatly reduced by the government at home, who, professing fully to appreciate the enlightened views which led to the foundation, nevertheless objected to the enormous expense of the establishment. The condition in which the Bishop found it on his arrival is described[1] by him as totally at variance with all our notions of a collegiate institution. He says that, "when the young civilians arrived, if they have no friends to receive them, they go into the writers' buildings, which is one side of a large square in the heart of Calcutta. They attend, or ought to attend, lectures in the necessary Asiatic languages; they neither dine together, nor attend chapel nor church, nor wear any common dress, nor are within the walls, nor liable to certain hours; they are just as much a college, as the medical pupils at any of the London hospitals, except that they live under the same roof, that idleness may be more contagious." He states it to be his opinion, that, with *some* expense, the college might be made a noble and effective institution; and that, with the least encouragement, he was ready to draw up a plan for that purpose. "In the mean time," he adds, "it is the wish of the court that I should preserve the morals of the young men, and

[1] In a letter to the Author, dated August 22, 1815.

prevent their rnnning into debt, and this, without any alteration of the system; which is much the same as if the Bishop of London were enjoined to preserve the morals of the young lawyers who reside in Lincoln's Inn!" Such being the state of the establishment, the Bishop found himself under the necessity of declining the honor designed for him by the court; which he accordingly did, by the following letter addressed to the governor-general in council.

My Lord, Calcutta, Nov. 13, 1815.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 13th ultimo, intimating the wish of the Honourable Court that I should take on myself the office of provost of the College at Fort William, and archdeacon Loring that of vice-provost, with a view to the establishment of a better course of discipline among the students. I am ready to acknowledge that I left England under the impression that I might, by taking an active part in the superintendence of the junior civil servants of the Honourable Company usefully employ any leisure afforded me from the discharge of my immediate and proper duties; and should be acting in conformity with the views which I had generally proposed to myself in accepting my appointment: and my zeal for the college would not have abated from consideration that

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such services, however important, were to be merely gratuitous. I cannot, therefore, suppress my disappointment at finding, that what is here called the college is nothing more than a body of students, either dispersed about Calcutta, or residing together in the most populous part of the city, not distinguished either by academical dress, by the use of a common hall, by attendance on divine service, by the observance of stated hours, by living together within the same walls, or by any circumstances which their collegiate designation led me to expect, excepting their required attendance on lectures in Oriental languages, and an annual examination to ascertain their proficiency. The introduction of discipline by the nomination of a provost over a body thus imperfectly constituted, and without any of the aids which experience has shewn to be indispensable in all other academical institutions, appears to me to be so manifestly impracticable, that I should scarcely imagine the Honourable Court to have been fully in possession of the circumstances, when they did me the honour to suppose that any services of mine could be availing. At any rate, I must observe that neither does my acquaintance with the English universities and with the Honourable Company's college at Haileybury, nor my conception of the duties which the title of provost usually implies, enable

me to discover how the superintendence of such an officer can have any place in the present state of the establishment. At the same time, I should be among the first to rejoice that a college for the use of the junior civil servants were really established in or near Calcutta, or even that the present establishment were placed on such a footing as to make the idea of discipline not altogether chimerical. Such an institution appears to me to be the *great desideratum* in India. And I beg leave to assure your Excellency in council, that if government in its wisdom can devise any means by which it may be obtained, my best services shall be cheerfully contributed, both in its formation, and in the maintenance of its discipline and interests when it shall be established.

I have, &c.

T. F. Calcutta.

To those who may contemplate attentively the particulars which have been already stated, it cannot appear surprising, if the history of the first Bishop of Calcutta, should be little more than an exhibition of the various difficulties which grew out of his singular and untried position. There was, however, one peculiar cause of embarrassment which may be said to have been in readiness to encounter him, at the very moment of his landing in his diocese; and which is too

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remarkable to be passed over in silence, as it threatened, for a time, to convert the episcopal establishment, which was designed to be a measure of unity and concentration, into a signal for disunion and discord. Among the various denominations of Christians settled at Calcutta and the other presidencies, were many most respectable members of the Scottish Church. Up to that period, however, they had nothing resembling an establishment in India, and had, without any apparent dissatisfaction, conformed to the English mode of worship; and some there were among them who did not scruple to avow their preference for it. Most certain it is, that no petitions had been presented by them, from any part of India, for a separate establishment, or provision in favour of their own peculiar worship and discipline. The projected appointment of a Bishop of India, seems, nevertheless, to have suddenly revived, in certain quarters, the memory of the Presbyterian discipline; and, with it, to have excited a resolution to assert, in its behalf, a community of honour and privilege with the Church of England. Towards the close of the discussions in Parliament[1] on the renewal of the Company's charter, some Scottish members of the House of Commons proposed the insertion of a clause, authorising "the appointment of a

[1] See debates in the Commons, July 2 and 13, 1813.

clergyman of the Scottish persuasion, at each presidency, with a salary of 1000*l.* per annum, each." It was replied[2], that for the legislature to sanction any other clerical establishment than that of the episcopal Church of England, would involve a principle highly impolitic, and one which might lead to misunderstanding in all the British colonies; namely, that every establishment of the English Church in our dependencies, must be accompanied by an establishment for the Kirk of Scotland also. It was accordingly decided that no such legal sanction could be given to the Presbyterian worship. The Scottish Kirk, being thus unrecognised in India by any legislative act, was, of course, left precisely in the same condition with every other form of dissent from the national scheme of ecclesiastical polity. This view of the matter, however, does not appear to have been altogether satisfactory to the honourable Court of Directors: and, as the charter had left them in possession of the revenues and the patronage of India, they resolved to exert this general power in the endowment of Presbyterian churches, and the maintenance of Presbyterian ministers, at each of the three presidencies. The effect of this resolution was to place the Scottish clergy in India, on the same footing, in the public estimation, with the English

[1] See Lord Castlereagh's Speech, July 2 and 13, 1813.

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chaplains. They each produced similar documents for their appointment, drew the same incomes from the government treasury, maintained the same correspondence with the civil and local functionaries, and, therefore, appeared to the public, (who made no strict enquiries into legal rights), as invested with the same authority. These impressions were confirmed by the proceedings of the general assembly in Edinburgh, which passed a resolution, recognising the Scottish Church in India, as a branch of their own, and empowering the members of the Presbyterian communion to hold kirk sessions at each of the presidencies, and even to elect elders, as representatives to that assembly. The effect of all these measures on the public mind was, no doubt, further strengthened by the remarkable fact, that the very same ship which conveyed the first bishop to govern the English Church at Calcutta, took out, likewise, a Scottish divine (Dr. Bryce) to found a Presbyterian establishment at the same place.

Under circumstances so favourable to the cause he had to represent, it is, perhaps, not very surprising that the Scottish divine should lose sight of the otherwise obvious distinction between an establishment paid by the local government, and acknowledged by his own spiritual superiors, and an establishment which had, exclusively, received the sanction of the British

legislature. Unhappily, however, his zeal and confidence were displayed in a manner by no means remarkable for temperance or discretion. He had actually applied to the Bishop for the alternate use of the cathedral. As this, of course, could not be granted, he had, for a short time, the use of the college-hall; and in that place delivered his first sermon in January 1815. This composition he immediately printed, with the title of "A Sermon preached at the opening of *the Church of Calcutta!*" The main object of this discourse was to set forth the superior excellence of the Presbyterian polity. In the execution of his task, the preacher wholly dropped the question, what form of government was established by the Apostles. He, moreover, contrived almost to identify episcopacy with popery; and did not scruple to represent the Church of England, as still grievously infected with the corruptions of the Church of Rome. Such were the doctrines for the promulgation of which the Presbyterian minister had the nerve to ask for the pulpit of the cathedral church of Calcutta.

It is not to be supposed that proceedings of this nature could be viewed with indifference by Bishop Middleton, more especially, as many circumstances seemed to indicate that they corresponded with the views and feelings entertained in certain quarters at home; and that

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the interests of the Scottish Church were somewhat more favourably regarded by the Honourable Court of Directors than those of the episcopal establishment. The members of the latter communion, as we have already seen, were insufficiently supplied with chaplains; and few sacred edifices were erected for their accommodation. Even in the capital of British India, the cathedral was, as yet, the only English church belonging to the government; and the European troops in Fort William assembled for divine service at their barrack rooms, notwithstanding repeated applications for a suitable building for divine service. On the other hand, it was observable that two presbyterian chaplains were early despatched for each of the congregations at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; that churches were immediately ordered, for presbyterian worship, on the most liberal scale, to be ornamented with conspicuous and lofty spires; and what was still more remarkable, these churches were to be furnished with organs; even though (as the Bishop observed) John Knox should awake at the sound! The first stone of St. Andrew's church, at Calcutta, was accordingly laid on the 30th of November, 1815, being St. Andrew's day; the ceremony was attended by nearly the whole of the settlement, partly in the character of North Britons, partly in that of Freemasons; and, that nothing might

be wanting to complete the solemnity, the Bishop of Calcutta actually received an invitation to attend, with the offer of a seat in the tent provided for the occasion; a mark of respect which, it is needless to add, he most respectfully declined.

That the necessity for these measures was by no means extremely urgent, had already appeared from the long and contented acquiescence of the Scottish residents in the services of our church. It was afterwards shewn, still more incontestably by the fact, that when the new congregation was formed in Calcutta, it withdrew no more than 100 members from our communion, and that in the other presidencies the defection was still more insignificant; notwithstanding the enormous assertion which had been made in the House of Commons, that the Presbyterians in India outnumbered the Episcopalians in the proportion of two to one[1]! Without the slightest disrespect, therefore, for the Scottish forms of discipline and worship,—without the smallest disposition to question the motives which prompted these efforts for their revival,—it may surely be permitted to every friend to our common Christianity to lament the inevitable tendency of such a proceeding. It should never

[1] Mr. Horner's speech, July 2, 1813.

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be forgotten that, (next to the suspicion that the Europeans are generally destitute of all real religion), the grand impediment the Gospel has to contend with among idolaters, arises from the multiplicity of shapes under which our *visible* religion presents itself to their notice. Their observation uniformly is, that they should think much better of Christianity, if there were not quite so many different kinds of it! It is, therefore, deeply to be regretted that the introduction of one additional variety should have been thought indispensable; and this, too, precisely at a moment when it was of the greatest importance to rally round the new Christian establishment all the religious energy that was not adversely pre-occupied.

About the middle of May, 1815, a circumstance occurred which threatened to realize the Bishop's worst anticipations of embarrassment from the claims of the Scottish Kirk. It accidentally came to his knowledge, and that of the clergy, that the members of that community had transmitted a petition to Parliament, praying, among other matters, that marriages in India by Scottish ministers might have equal validity with marriages celebrated in the English Church. As yet the Bishop had taken no public notice of the somewhat intemperate proceedings of Dr. Bryce; but he now felt himself called upon to resist further encroachment on the rights of the

Church over which he presided. The solemnizing of marriages by the Scottish clergy might not be objectionable, provided the concession were carefully limited to the marriage of persons who might be, *bonâ fide*, members of the Presbyterian Church. But if the concession went beyond this, it is evident that the privileges of the English establishment would be impaired; and moreover, that the peace of families might be seriously endangered by an irrespective celebration of matrimony, according to rites not sanctioned by the church to which the parties should belong. Instances, indeed, had actually occurred, in which, on refusal of a license for want of the necessary consent of parents or of guardians, minors had obtained their object, without delay or difficulty, on application to the minister of another communion. At the Bishop's desire, archdeacon Loring requested, by letter, "to be favoured with a sight of the petition, and the names subscribed to it; some of the objects of which might affect the rights of our clergy." The reply of Dr. Bryce was, that compliance was impossible; the petition and its duplicate having been some time dispatched to England. The archdeacon then requested that, *if no copy was reserved in Calcutta*, he might be favoured with information as to the prayer of the petition, and the persons to whom it was addressed. The answer of Dr. Bryce protested that the petition

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had, properly, no reference to ecclesiastical matters, but purely to civil rights; that it was addressed to the House of Commons, by 200 Presbyterians and members of the Church of Scotland, and prayed that the right of being married after the forms of their own Church, might be placed beyond a doubt. On this, the Bishop desired the archdeacon to call together such of the clergy as happened to be in Calcutta; and by them, accordingly, a counter-petition was framed, expressing regret for the want of more full information relative to the contents of the Scottish petition,—praying that the law regarding matrimony might not be hastily altered,—and representing the confusion which must unavoidably attend "the hitherto untried experiment of two churches, equally accredited in the same country, and fully recognised by the same law." Neither of these petitions was, in fact, presented to Parliament; but the subject having been taken into consideration by the authorities at home, it was deemed advisable to pass a bill authorizing the Scottish ministers at each presidency, to solemnize matrimony, in certain instances, and where the parties made a written declaration of their being members of the Presbyterian Church.

It will easily be imagined that occurrences of this description were not peculiarly animating or consolatory to Bishop Middleton. They seemed

to portend a class of difficulties perplexing even beyond any thing that he had been taught to expect; and to indicate, as he himself expresses it, that, in the course of years, "half the settlement might have interests and objects in which the bishop cannot participate." He was naturally apprehensive, that either the distant stations must be provided with Presbyterian chaplains, or that the want of them might lead to the abandonment of all religious ordinances; and that thus Christianity must inevitably suffer either from the discord, or the neglect, of those who made profession of it. Divisions, indeed, he had been prepared to find; and he accepted the preferment with a distinct anticipation of their difficulties. In such divisions, however, as had existed previously to his arrival, he met with no obstacles which prudence and resolution might not confidently encounter, since they were not connected with any settled principle or feeling of alienation from the Established Church. "But here," he observes, "something is set up against me which I cannot reach. Its opposition is not levelled at any particular tenet, but at my very function and appointment; so that explanation and conciliation are rendered absolutely impossible." Had he been fully aware that embarrassments of this peculiar nature awaited him, it is probable, he intimates, that they might altogether have deterred him from accepting the

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bishopric. "You will judge," he adds, "from this statement, that my situation is not a very easy one; and yet, I am neither depressed in spirit, nor at all discouraged. I am as indefatigable, as if my labours were crowned with complete success, and all the world applauded my endeavours. And yet, in the prevailing apathy of the people, it matters little, *in that point of view*, whether the Bishop labours incessantly or does nothing. No man gets any credit in India, or is remembered three months after he leaves it. All his *earthly* encouragement must be looked for in England[1]."

Distressing, however, as these circumstances were, the more immediate source of inconvenience to Dr. Middleton was the extremely imperfect definition of his powers in the letters patent which assigned to him the diocese of Calcutta. This was a difficulty which, under all the circumstances, it might scarcely have been practicable for the government to obviate. It was, perhaps, beyond human foresight to frame a perfect set of provisions for the application of British episcopacy to a state of society so different, in its form and elements, from that of England, and so little prepared for the reception of ecclesiastical authority. That the crown should invest the new prelate with

[1] Letter to a friend in England, dated Dec. 8, 1815.

unlimited and discretionary power was more than could reasonably be expected. To assign exactly the proper extent of authority, would imply a more perfect knowledge of local circumstances, interests, and feelings, than any thing short of experience could supply. The territories of the Company, it must always be remembered, are not, like that of Great Britain or her colonies, parcelled out into parishes, each under the spiritual care of a local minister, standing in a distinct and well defined relation to his diocesan. In India there could, of course, be nothing strictly analogous to a parochial clergy. The only ecclesiastics known there were the chaplains, who (as we have seen) owed their appointments to the Court of Directors, and who were in the habits of regarding the governor of their presidency as the only immediate local authority to which they were amenable. The materials, therefore, for the construction of an ecclesiastical polity, at all resembling that of this country, appeared in India to be almost entirely wanting. It must, consequently, have been a task of no ordinary perplexity to frame an instrument, which should invest a spiritual governor with the precise powers which were demanded by so anomalous a situation. It must, however, be allowed, that, under these difficult circumstances, his majesty's government can by no means be charged with

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any rash excess of confidence towards the head of the Indian Church!

From the tenor of the letters patent, it appears that his episcopal authority was to extend over all "the territories subject to the government of the East India Company;" and that he was to exercise "full ecclesiastical power over all chaplains and ministers of the Church of England," to whom he was further directed to "grant licenses to officiate." But, as he was to have a diocese without a parochial clergy, the vague and general language of the instrument still left it doubtful to what extent, and in what manner, his authority was to be exercised in licensing the clergy. The territories of the Company, it will be remembered, are apportioned under the three presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; each of the two latter having its distinct governor and council, with full control over all matters within their respective governments, subject only in particular points, to the governor-general. To each presidency a distinct body of chaplains was attached; of whom, those doing duty at civil stations were accustomed to receive their appointments and their orders from the governor in council, and those at military stations from the general commanding the army.

Previously to the regular exercise of such powers as were confided to the Bishop, it was

necessary that the transfer of all ecclesiastical authority to himself should be officially promulgated throughout the three presidencies. And as this act would involve some considerations of great importance and delicacy, it was deemed advisable by the vice-president in council, at Fort William, to await the return of the governor-general from Nepaul to Calcutta. In consequence of this unavoidable delay, it was not until December, 1815, that his ecclesiastical jurisdiction was formally notified to the public. In the preparation of this act, it of course became necessary to consider what was intended by the term of "*licensing the clergy*." It was obvious that the *license* here contemplated could not be a general license to read prayers and preach throughout the diocese of Calcutta; such a license not being conformable to the ecclesiastical law, which the Bishop was directed to take for his guide. It was therefore reasonable to conclude, that the proper effect of the Bishop's license would be to place the clergy, so far as circumstances would permit, in a condition similar to that which is conferred in England by institution. "The intended effect of licensing a clergyman," says the Bishop in his communication on this subject to the supreme government, dated June 19, 1815, "is to place him under the jurisdiction of his diocesan, and, at the same time, to give him a

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legal title to his cure. It renders him exclusively amenable to the bishop's authority, and makes the exercise of that authority necessary towards his removal. But this is not all. Every clergyman, previously to his being licensed, takes an oath of canonical obedience to the bishop and his successors; and canonical obedience is understood to extend to all matters connected with canonical duties." "The clergy of a diocese," he adds, "whether presented by the crown, by chartered companies, by individuals, or collated by the bishop, fall precisely under the same jurisdiction, and enter into the same engagement; and the case cannot," he conceives, "be different in India."—"With the bishop rests all the responsibility connected with the conduct of the clergy."

The official answer to the above communication was delayed till the Earl of Moira's return to Calcutta. On the first of November it was replied, that "his Excellency in council concurred in the anxiety expressed by his lordship, for carrying into effect the objects contemplated by the legislature in providing an episcopal establishment for British India, and that orders had accordingly been issued for placing the clergy under his immediate control. His Excellency, however, observed, that owing to the non-advertence to the circumstance of there being no parochial clergy, an omission had arisen of a

definition of his lordship's powers, in a material point. As the case then stood, the clergy attached to the churches in Calcutta were under the control of the governor-general in council; those in quarters receiving their orders immediately from the commander-in-chief," (a similar rule prevailing at the other presidencies) " his lordship's functions would therefore be confined to the superintendence over the moral conduct of those individuals. His authority would consequently be exercised only in the unpleasant part of its character, that is to say, in censure or inhibition, where misconduct might require it; while the pleasing duty of giving to persons deserving distinction, preferable stations, would be withheld from his lordship. The governor-general in council, therefore, with a view to free his lordship's functions from so invidious a check, and to remove the obvious objection arising from a concurrent jurisdiction, was pleased to resolve that the nomination of chaplains of the united Church of England and Ireland to particular stations, should, thereafter, originate with his lordship; and he was requested to communicate, accordingly, to the local governments of the respective presidencies all such arrangements as he might think proper to make, in order that the necessary instructions for the issue of pay and allowances to the chaplains, at the respective stations to which they should be severally

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appointed, might be expedited in the usual manner[1]. His Excellency was further pleased to direct, that all clergymen appointed in future to the situation of chaplain, should, immediately on their arrival in India, report themselves to the Lord Bishop, or, in his absence, to the archdeacon of their respective presidencies. A complete compilation of the existing rules and orders for the guidance of the several chaplains was to be transmitted for his lordship's information, and for the purpose of enabling him to prepare such new regulations as he might deem expedient. The Bishop was, lastly, informed, that the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay had been requested to adopt the necessary measures for giving full effect to the authority vested in his lordship by the letters-patent, and by those resolutions of the governor-general in council."

The foregoing paper is a monument of the liberality and wisdom, which enabled his Excellency the governor-general to perceive, that nothing could be more unfavourable to the useful exercise of the Bishop's spiritual office, than to hold it up merely as a terror to evil-doers, and to strip it of the power of encouraging desert by

[1] The salaries attached to particular stations varied; and it was therefore necessary that the pay-offices should be apprised of the changes in the locations of the clergy. The power of making a settled allowance for a station rested with the government of each presidency.

suitable recompense and promotion. Here, however, it was that the Bishop had to deplore that such insufficient provision had been made for the independence and dignity of the episcopal office, as to leave it without protection against adverse views and interests. The Court of Directors (as may now be properly mentioned, by anticipation) made no objection to that part of the regulations which assigned to the Bishop a superintendence over matters of official routine, and entitled him to receive from his archdeacons a certificate that all was regularly done which fell within his cognizance,—(an authority which peculiarly belonged to him by the very nature of his office, and by the express words of the letters patent,)—but they maintained, that the privilege of originating the appointment of each chaplain to a particular station would be an encroachment on the patronage of government; and they accordingly sent, in 1818, a peremptory dispatch, (which the India Board did not deem it proper to intercept,) calling on the government in India to rescind their resolution, and deciding that the chaplains should be promoted by seniority. They would not even consent to leave to the Bishop the power of selecting the ablest for the pulpit of his own cathedral. They gave, indeed, as the patent required, a general injunction to the government to co-operate with the ecclesiastical authorities; but accompanied

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it with restrictions which threatened to reduce the episcopal office to comparative insignificance.

In all these proceedings there was nothing, perhaps, that might not have been reasonably expected. It is hardly to be imagined that any body of men should readily consent to the supposed reduction of their own influence. Experience is constantly teaching them how necessary the possession of such influence must always be to the successful administration of great public interests; and the transfer of any portion of it to other hands, is a measure, the expediency of which may appear too doubtful, to overcome the various motives which counsel an adherence to the existing state of things. But, however natural might be this resolution of the Honourable Court, it must always be lamented by those who are anxious for the honour and efficacy of our episcopal establishment in India: and this regret must be deepened by the consideration that the surrender of patronage would, in this instance, have been but an insignificant sacrifice on the part of the local governments, while it would have conferred immense advantage on the cause of religion, and would have been more in union with the general practice of government in other departments.

CHAPTER VI.

Lectures on the Litany—Character as a Preacher—Free-school in Calcutta—Bible Society—Formation of Diocesan Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—His prospects in the extension of Christianity in India—Improvement in the religious faith and practice of Europeans—Education of half-castes—Letter to Mr. Ward—First Confirmation in Calcutta—Primary Visitation in the Cathedral—Abstract of the Bishop's Charge—Letter to Mr. Norris—Conference with Rammohun Roy—Return of Dr. Ward to England.

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While surrounded with these several difficulties, which seemed to impede his usefulness, Bishop Middleton continued to devote himself with ardour and constancy to the task of exploring and of cultivating the field which was clearly open to him. He preached in his cathedral frequently, and on all great occasions; and that his people might be brought to entertain worthy conceptions of the devotional formularies of the Church, he commenced a series of lectures on what appears to have been his favourite portion of them, namely, her beautiful and solemn litany. Those lectures always attracted a numerous and attentive audience; and the Bishop had the

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satisfaction of hearing that their usefulness was unquestionable. As a preacher, it must be remembered, he was powerfully impressive. His personal presence was unusually commanding; his voice clear and sonorous; his style plain and masculine, and most frequently argumentative. His discourses were decidedly superior to those which had commonly been delivered in the cathedral, and were admirably adapted to the intelligent and educated classes which, for the most part, formed his congregations. He was always listened to with profound and earnest attention, as a sound and forcible expositor of the truths of the Gospel.

Among the first objects of his care, was the free-school at Calcutta, an institution of noble capacities, but at that time in lamentable need of reform. He took upon himself the office of its patron; he established monthly meetings of its governors; he placed it under the superintendence of a master from the National Society in England; he projected annual examinations of the scholars, at which he presided in person, and distributed the prizes with his own hand; and, by his request it was, that the school was honoured, on those occasions, by the attendance of many of the public functionaries. By this system of wise encouragement, the establishment was speedily brought to a state of such distinguished credit and usefulness, that a native was

impelled to express his approbation of it, in the very unusual form of a pecuniary donation, amounting to 500 rupees[1]. The orphan-school for 700 half-caste children, was another institution which experienced the benefit of his lordship's early protection, and which, at the request of the governor-general, he undertook to superintend in the character of its visitor.

With regard to the various religious institutions of Calcutta, the Bishop had a course of considerable intricacy before him. It was not at all surprising that, in a community which had been, till that period, placed beyond the local and natural influences of the Established Church, there should have arisen a multitude of independent associations for benevolent and pious objects, whose members were unconscious of any thing, either in their form or essence, which should disqualify them for the support of Christians of every denomination, whether members of the Church or not. Of these the first in magnitude and importance was the Bible Society, embracing, as it did, many names of respectability in Calcutta. It might reasonably be expected that his lordship would be invited to join this institution; and some emotions of surprise may at first, probably, have been occasioned

[1] Something above 60*l*.

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by his declining the proposal. His refusal, however, though firm and steady, was conveyed in a manner fitted to mitigate every feeling of jealousy or offence. It was grounded simply on the persuasion that, under all existing circumstances, the plans of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge promised more beneficial results, for the same object, than any other which could be devised; and that the office of president of a committee in union with that body presented the most appropriate and promising sphere of usefulness to a bishop of the Church of England. The general designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge appeared also to be more adapted than those of any other society to meet the wants of the clergy, and to promote the cause of Christianity, in connection with the establishment. At this time prayer-books and tracts were much more needed even than copies of the Holy Scriptures. So urgent was the want of elementary books for the various schools, that the Bishop had made exertions to procure one or two of those on the list of the Society to be reprinted in Calcutta, for their immediate use, notwithstanding the ruinous expense of typography in India. To the formation of a diocesan committee of this Society, his lordship accordingly addressed himself with the utmost promptitude. His design had some

impediments to encounter at the outset. The constitution of the Society, it was suggested, was too exclusive to be suited to the state of public opinion in Calcutta, while its objects were sufficiently various and comprehensive to excite a general feeling of jealousy and alarm. All these difficulties, however, gradually vanished before the address and energy of the Bishop. A short account of the Society was speedily printed and circulated by him; other necessary steps were taken for the establishment of the committee, which was, consequently, formed in May, 1815, and commenced its proceedings under the best possible auspices. In a letter to Archdeacon Barnes, dated the 26th of the same month, the Bishop says, "We have had our primary meeting, and our resolutions all passed with entire unanimity. Our members are already thirty-six, and many more may be expected to drop in. I have no fear for our strength. The point at which I aim is to proceed quietly. We have no vice-presidents, and the meetings are at my house . . . . Our Society, by the blessing of Providence, may hope to become a most powerful engine of good. It requires only care in the management. I mean to attend to it very closely." Again, in a letter on the 31st of the same month, he adds, "Nothing but misrepresentation can hurt us. Here, we are proceeding admirably

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well. We make no parade, and we publish nothing. Our immediate objects are Europeans and half-castes: and we shall avoid every thing which can reasonably excite apprehension." On the 26th of the following June, his report is equally encouraging:—"We are remitting to London about 650*l.*; two-thirds of which will be returned in books, one third being the property of the Parent Society . . . . Our immediate object, when we receive our books, will be to supply barracks, cantonments, schools, and hospitals, with bibles, prayer books, and useful tracts. We have a prodigious field before us, and may accomplish incalculable good without looking beyond the Europeans." Once more—"The rule I have laid down is, that we make no parade, and keep clear of the newspapers; for though we affect not secresy, our true policy is to avoid any thing which can alarm the most timid; I do not mean among the natives, *for nothing that we could do would alarm them!*"

It was a part of the proceedings of this committee, that a copy of their resolutions should be transmitted to the archdeacons of Madras and Bombay, with a request that they would take such steps as they might deem expedient for the formation of district committees at those presidencies. At Madras, where the operations of the Society had long been known, Archdeacon Mousley succeeded immediately in forming a

committee, with every prospect of efficacy and success. It was established on the 21st of August, 1815, the archdeacon himself being the president. At Bombay, the friends of the Church had recently co-operated with so much liberality in support of the education society, that Archdeacon Barnes thought it might be advisable to abstain from urging the establishment of a committee at that presidency until the following year, when the Bishop was expected in that quarter of India on his visitation.

It was by measures of this prudent, unostentatious character, that the Bishop hoped to give life to the profession of Christianity in India. And he had the gratification of finding his views so liberally seconded by the affluent and respectable classes, that, in February, 1816, he was able to announce to a correspondent in England, that members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge were then to be found all over India, from Delhi to Cape Comorin. His proceedings appear to have been prompted by one intense conviction, which, to the last moment of his life, retained its full possession of his mind; namely, that little is effectually to be done in India for the cause of Christianity, without first bringing the European inhabitants much more generally, and more perceptibly, under its influence. The native mind he found in a condition of greater religious apathy than could have been imagined

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by one who had not personally witnessed it. The attachment of the populace to their immemorial superstitions he perceived to be nearly immoveable, indeed, but still, inert and unimpassioned. He saw, therefore, much less reason than many others to apprehend that the greatest activity of operation in Christian societies would awaken the fears or arm the zeal of the listless and ignorant idolaters. "As to alarm among the natives," he says, "I am not aware that there can be any ground for it, unless the natives objected to reform or improvement among our own people. All whom I converse with hold a very different language. They seem almost as much shocked with the little attention paid by us to such subjects, as we can be. As to any ulterior views of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, they *must* be so remote that it will be quite time enough to discuss them when they are developed. We have work enough for years to come, in schools, barracks, hospitals, and prisons, and among those who have no religion at all, without interfering with any species of superstition; and these are the objects which I have in view, and to which I shall endeavour to confine the attention of the committees [1]." The cause of the Gospel had in truth much more to fear from

[1] In a letter to Archdeacon Barnes, dated 20th October, 1815.

the practical atheism of the European, than from the bigotry of the languid Hindoo. However degraded by the yoke of his own faith, the humblest native would secretly exult in his own superiority above a society of outcasts, who, whatever might be their rank or power, appeared often to be without a creed, and almost without a God. And he would naturally be disposed to repel, as the excess of hypocrisy, all attempts to convert him to a faith, which appeared to be scorned and trampled on by so many of its professors.

Some encouragement, indeed, his lordship derived from the belief that these impediments to the diffusion of the Christian faith were gradually, but regularly, subsiding. There were still, indeed, some remains of a generation of Europeans, whose misfortune it was to be transplanted to India at a time when religion seemed scarcely to be regarded by their countrymen there as an element necessary to the constitution or the preservation of society. Consigned from boyhood to a new and distant scene, where the influence of Christian institutions or Christian example were scarcely felt, they inevitably lost their religious sensibility. The only devotions they beheld around them, were calculated to make the very name of piety contemptible. And thus it was that they, almost virtually, degenerated into a race of confirmed scorners; and this utter dissolution of religious principle was, in many

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instances, followed by a corresponding looseness of personal morality. Of individuals, however, thus apparently unmolested by serious thoughts of righteousness, temperance, or judgment to come, the number was, from various causes, constantly diminishing: and it was the first object of the Bishop's anxiety to take advantage of the favourable turn. Among the resources which presented themselves for preserving and fostering the Christianity of his own countrymen, and for extending the tutelary influence of the Church, a strict connection with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, appeared to him to be one of the most promising. The designs of that Society were adapted to bring into salutary and regulated action the best feelings and soundest principles of Englishmen, without offering any dangerous encouragement to the hopes of adventurous and precipitate benevolence.

His keen and watchful observation soon led him further to the belief, that the general dispersion of the Scriptures among the natives, however admirable for its grandeur and beneficence of design, was destined to experience a very serious disappointment. This persuasion was founded, not merely on the unavoidable imperfection of a multitude of hasty translations, but on the incapacity of the native mind, in its present state, for extracting the rudiments of true religion from the mere perusal of the Scrip-

tures, in the most perfect version. Their intellects were in a degree of childhood, which would *literally* require *a schoolmaster to bring them to Christ*, even if they were not pre-occupied by their own evil superstitions. In their present mental infancy, the Bible itself would only bewilder and oppress them. This view of the matter was afterwards strongly illustrated and confirmed to him by the expression of a Parsee at Bombay, who observed that *there should be no great books, but little ones to begin with.* The establishment of schools, therefore, and the distribution of appropriate tracts, were expedients on which, for the present, he was much more disposed to rely, than on the widest diffusion of the Bible in the native dialects of Hindostan. In a letter to Archdeacon Barnes, dated so early as April, 1815, he says, "I am very much satisfied with the measures which you appear to have been taking in furtherance of the objects which brought us to India. I am daily more convinced that certain prejudices are on the wane, and that our exertions will have visible effects on the public mind in India. Education comprehends a great deal; more especially, if we can induce the natives to learn English. In learning and reading English, they will inevitably learn to think; and when the power of thinking is pretty generally diffused, the cause will be gained. However, for the present, we must look to objects

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immediately within our reach; and the education of half-castes and nominal Portuguese [1], is of that description."

The views of the Bishop, however, on these important objects, have not been collected solely from the expression of his sentiments at this particular period, but from a careful examination of his correspondence, nearly from the time of his landing in India, to the day of his death. The mention of these, however, is properly introduced here, because it appears that his sentiments, relative to these matters, underwent no subsequent change; but, on the contrary, were perpetually receiving ample confirmation from all he saw and heard. It is the more important to make known, in this stage of the narrative, the maxims and principles which guided him throughout, because there is reason to believe that, to this hour, they have not been generally understood, or duly appreciated. It is unquestionable that his movements towards the grand object of winning Hindostan to the dominion of the Redeemer, were not impetuous enough to satify the impatient zeal which was rushing forward towards this mighty consummation, and which

[1] At Bombay, and in several parts of India, the natural children of the British had been united with the remains of the Portuguese congregation, in the absence of proper attention from the English Protestant Church.

swallowed up[1] in fancy, the vast space which still unhappily separates us from it. But if his ardour in this "magnificent and holy cause," was apparently less than that of many other pious and benevolent individuals, he yielded to no man living in steady and cordial devotion to its advancement. His heart was always with those friends and benefactors of their species, whose spirits seemed to find no rest, until the gigantic and pernicious absurdities of the Hindoo faith, should fall before the power of the cross. The only question between him and them related to the mode by which human zeal could most hopefully engage in the furtherance of this glorious purpose.

A very interesting and impressive illustration of these views will be found in the following letter to his friend Mr. Ward, which shews the sagacity with which he surveyed the state of public feeling and opinion in India, and the admirable union of faithfulness and discretion with which he was prepared to meet it.

Calcutta, June 30, 1815.

My dearest Friend,

Monday se'nnight I passed most delightfully *at Camberwell:* I was with you and your family

[1] Job xxxix. 24.

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the whole day. I received your letter of the 3d of November in the morning, and that of the 9th of December in the afternoon; so that I could hardly help believing that I was at the White Cottage, talking over domestic matters and future projects. At this distance from home, and surrounded, as we are here, by such different associations, a letter which reminds one of former scenes, seems at once to transport one to the spot: for a while I forget India, and am in England.

I often reflect with wonder on the ways of Providence, when I consider my own extraordinary life. But four years since I quitted my peaceful retreat on the banks of Nen, where any small degree of energy natural to me was nearly laid to rest, and I never read the service at the altar of Tansor Church without the thought coming across me that I was standing on the spot where my remains would probably repose: my sphere of duty was very humble, and the improvement which honest farmer Cave used to declare he derived from my sermons, was the most valuable reward of my labours. The turbulence of St. Pancras, and the bustle and the business of London succeeded; and, though apparently but little came of the attempt, it was, I perceive a most important link in the chain of my life. It roused me into activity; it gave me habits of business; it made me better

acquainted with the world; and it introduced me to the notice of people whom otherwise I could never have known, and who will endeavour, as far as they can, to preserve me from oblivion at *home*. You will, perhaps, catch at that phrase: but it is the term here used for England; and the return to it is the object which every body keeps in view, though few attain it. For my own part, advanced as I am in life, I cannot wholly dismiss it from my thoughts; I cannot divest myself of what you once called "a talent for painting:" and no picture is so delightful to my imagination, as the idea of revisiting my native land after an absence of ten or twelve years, which should deserve to be recorded as the era of moral and religious improvement in India: and, if Providence only grant me health, I think that I should not despair of the rest. Do not suppose that I mean, that in *my* life, or in the life of much younger persons, the terrible abominations here called religion will yield to the faith of Christ. I differ exceedingly from those who tell you that the case is desperate; it is full of blessed hope; nothing has yet been attempted; the policy has been all the other way: but though the tide is turning, a century perhaps may elapse before it reaches the flood: but the immediate object of my hope is, that I may be enabled by the Divine blessing to make pro-

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fessing Christians know and feel their responsibility; and influence those who possess all the resources of these vast regions, to dedicate a much larger portion of their gains to the honour of God. India is not the scene of British glory: we have indeed been successful in war, and skilful in finance: we have made and are making the most of it; but all these things will make a sad figure in the page of the Christian historian: we have done nothing for Christianity, and have acted as if we were ashamed of it; and with some I believe this is really the case. This feeling I am labouring to subvert: and whoever subverts it effectually will, my friend, have laid the foundation on which alone missionaries can build. If every Englishman in India really wished to disseminate Christianity, recommending it both by his example and his influence, or even not checking it, it would find its way: the people are in a state of great indifference about their own religion, and they would gradually adopt any other, which was visibly and uniformly better: but such is not before them.

We had here a thanksgiving day for the peace, on which occasion I preached: I had been disgusted by witnessing, two days before, the most abominable of the Hindoo processions: wretches bleeding from self-inflicted wounds, and dancing like maniacs to the sound of savage music, some with swords through their arms, and others with

bamboos through their tongues, &c. &c. I was determined to notice this from the pulpit, and accordingly after laying down that God "has not conferred empire upon nations merely to gratify their avarice or ambition," and remarking on the field which is here open to Christian benevolence, I exclaimed "Who of us has not been struck with horror at the exhibition of the last few days? What Christian has not praised the Disposer of events that he is blessed with a knowledge of the Gospel? How deeply has he felt the truth of that declaration of his Saviour, My yoke is easy and my burthen is light! With what gratitude does he reflect that a full, perfect, and sufficient satisfaction hath been once made for the sins of the whole world! and how ardently does he wish that to all the world this saving truth were known! Then would pilgrimages, and penances, and self-inflicted tortures, and all the modes of individual expiation cease, and men would 'repent and be baptised in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins,' and would 'worship their Maker in spirit and in truth.'" I then go on to recommend a much stricter system among Christians; the renunciation of immoral habits, the observance of the Lord's day, &c. &c. This sermon, to the surprise of some people, I was requested to print at the charge of government, and it has been dispersed through India. A

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gentleman at a distance writes to me, "the responsibility attached to our possession of this vast empire has never before been boldly proclaimed, and coming now from high authority, it must attract attention." I sincerely pray that it may. You will readily conceive that with such objects before me, my mind and my time are absorbed: and I hope I may be forgiven, if I indulge the wish, after the remainder of my strength and ardour is spent in such a cause, to return, ere the lamp of life be quite extinguished, to my native land; there to enjoy, what I should value beyond any thing else on earth, the quiet society of my surviving friends, and the respect and esteem of good men. I should then say, supposing my labours to have been successful, "I have lived."—God bless you all.

Your's most affectionately,

T. F. Calcutta.

In July, 1815, the Bishop performed, for the first time, the office of confirmation at Calcutta. As this office had never yet been administered in India by a Protestant bishop, Archdeacon Loring, by his lordship's desire, had explained its nature and uses by a discourse delivered in the cathedral; and, on the day of this solemnity, the Bishop himself addressed the persons confirmed from the communion, earnestly exhorting them

to a serious consideration of the holy engagements which they had just taken upon themselves, and urgently admonishing them to watchfulness, surrounded as they were by habits and principles formidably adverse to the cultivation of Christian holiness. "Various modes and forms of faith," he observed, "are practised around us, all of them with apparent sincerity, and confidence that they are pleasing to God; and the effect of this upon Christians is, I fear, not unfrequently (however unobserved by them) that they forget how destitute of divine sanction is all which they behold; and that Christianity only *hath the words of eternal life.* Let me caution you then against indifference. Hold fast your faith without wavering, according to that form of sound words which you have received. And when you observe the thousands around you worshipping the works of their own hands, and seeking atonement for sin in vain or childish superstition, O bless Him who hath called you to this state of salvation, through faith in Christ, applying those words of the Psalmist,—*this* God is our God for ever and ever: He shall be our guide unto death." CHAP. VI. 1815.

In December, 1815, his lordship held his primary visitation at Calcutta. As this solemnity had never before been witnessed there, it attracted a considerable concourse of British residents. Of the clergy ten only were in at-

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tendance; it being absolutely necessary to dispense with the appearance of the rest, who were on their respective stations at various distances, from 100 to 800 miles, from the capital. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Ward, the senior chaplain. The Bishop having then taken his seat within the rails of the communion, attended by his archdeacon and registrar, delivered his primary charge. As this admirable address was uttered under circumstances of peculiar interest and importance, it will be proper to present to the reader a tolerably copious abstract of it.

His lordship began by observing that the occasion which assembled them was not unimportant in the annals of the Christian faith; that the day had arrived when the purest and most powerful of Protestant churches was completely established in a vast region of Asia; that her clergy, hitherto a small body of detached individuals, acting without concert, and not subject to any local superintendence, were thenceforward to become the members of a compacted body, and united under the regimen which prevailed in the earliest ages of the Gospel. He admitted that the duties of the clergy were to be performed in India under circumstances which called for the constant exercise of Christian prudence: but he reminded them, that there was no region on earth where the religion of Jesus, if

due care were to be taken to plant and water it, would not flourish. The most dissipated city in the east became one of the earliest and most distinguished seats of the Gospel; "The disciples were called Christians first at Antioch[1]," and a branch of the Church of Antioch had subsisted for centuries amidst the mountains of Malabar.

His lordship regretted that he could not have the satisfaction of announcing to his clergy that they were to be placed in all respects on the footing of parochial incumbents. He informed them, however, that they were no longer subject to all the inconveniences which seemed to be implied by the name of military chaplains; that they were now placed, completely and exclusively, under ecclesiastical jurisdiction; that they had fixed and permanent stations, to which they would thenceforward be nominated by himself[2]; that their correspondence, on all ecclesiastical matters, would be carried on through him or his archdeacons; and that the rules of their conduct would be the same which prevailed at home, except where local circumstances should render their application impracticable. Hitherto, he observed, the clergy had been placed in circum-

[1] Acts xi. 26.

[2] It has been already stated that this regulation of the government was not confirmed by the Court of Directors.

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stances extremely unfavourable to the preservation of canonical regularity; and for this reason it became necessary for him to dwell, somewhat largely, upon the topic of discipline.

His lordship, accordingly, proceeded at considerable length to explain the necessity and the advantage of ecclesiastical regularity and subordination. The primitive Church, he observed, was not more remarkable for the zeal and intrepidity of its preachers, than for their strict conformity to order. To imagine that the first Christians bore any resemblance to those who regard it as an indication of piety to "despise dominion and speak evil of dignities," is to betray an utter ignorance of their history. With them, religious fervor went hand in hand with submission to authority. The decrees of the earlier councils refer almost as frequently to discipline, as to doctrine: and the "Apostolical canons," as they are named, even though not the work of Apostles, have been judged by Bishop Beveridge to deserve the title of "The Code of the primitive Church!" The jurisdiction of the Christian hierarchy had been acknowledged from the earliest times, even when destitute of all support from the state, and enforced by no penalty but that of spiritual excommunication.

The Bishop then remarked that his subject unavoidably led him to touch upon a topic which some persons were unable to hear mentioned

without alarm,—namely, the possibility of an extension of the Gospel. If, said his lordship, a thought could be entertained of making a way for religion by force, the design ought not only to be prescribed by common consent, but to be rejected with horror. But should the diffusion of knowledge, the excellence and beauty of the Christian doctrine, and the power of Christian example, succeed in bringing willing converts to Christ, I know not, he added, that any man *could forbid water, that these should not be baptized*[1]. The word of prophecy directed our hopes to such a consummation; and the yet infant Church of India might be the instrument for dispensing knowledge and consolation to the posterity of millions still without its pale. With reference to such a consummation, our thoughts would naturally be turned towards the Church establishment as the centre from which the whole body of converts must derive its unity and consistency. It might, he said, be reasonably expected, that the government of the future Church, whatever may be its extent, should be that which was in force at the time of its foundation; and that the decent and dignified model of our Establishment should be the exemplar which Christian congregations would adopt. Nothing which has any resemblance to independency is adapted to the

[1] Acts x. 47.

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maintenance of religion among a vast population; and least of all, perhaps, when we consider their peculiar character among the nations of the east.

His lordship, however, was aware that he was not addressing missionaries, but the stationary members of an established Church; his object, therefore, was to enforce attention to discipline with reference to an eventual extension of Christianity, by whatever means, and at whatever period it might be accomplished. The effect of regularity would be to aid the labours of conversion. In the primitive ages, the order and discipline of the clergy were regarded, even by unbelievers, as powerfully efficacious in advancing the religion of the Cross: and the laws and usages of the Christian Church were recommended by Julian the Apostate, to the imitation of the Pagan priesthood[1]. If we, therefore, are convinced of the purity of our Church's doctrine, and of the excellence of her discipline, we, surely, shall not abandon our ground by remissness, by irregularity, or by specious projects of accommodation.

In the remainder of his address, his lordship adverted with impressive solemnity to the various duties connected with the clerical office. After enforcing a steady approximation,—in spite of adverse circumstances,—to the observance of the

[1] Sozomen. Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. c. 16.

Church's rubric, in the administration of the various holy offices,—he added,—"the model I would propose to you, is that of the English parish-priest,—the guardian of morals,—the instructor of youth,—the comforter of the afflicted,—the promoter and director of works of charity and love,—and the guide of all who are entrusted to his charge in the way of peace. And I anticipate all objections arising from a different condition of society, in the reply, that this is still the standard to which you should endeavour to make all difficulties gradually yield. Admitting the difficulties of the case, I am still of opinion that you will not want encouragement in the endeavour to establish a pastoral influence; especially if it be attempted by your taking the lead in plans of benevolence and usefulness, which cannot any where originate so properly as with yourselves."

After some remarks on those collateral objects and pursuits which often varied the leisure of an English clergyman, and the absence of which, in India, leaves the ecclesiastic without any medium between a sustained attention to duty, and habits of indolence and voluptuousness,—the Bishop proceeded to recommend the state of the military to the particular attention of the clergy. No class of persons could be more in need of pastoral superintendence, nor could there be a more truly Christian *labour of*

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love than that of seeking to reclaim them from ignorance and profligacy—awakening them to a sense of their danger—urging them to receive instruction—visiting them in their sickness—and dispensing to them the consolations of our holy faith. A scarcely less valuable object would be, the superintendence of the regimental schools, in which, agreeably to the design of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, the principles of the Church of England were to be inculcated on the plan of the National Society. In the furtherance of these objects they could derive invaluable assistance from the diocesan and district committees of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, from which might be procured every species of publication that could be useful in aid of pastoral instruction. Of those committees all the clergy who had heard of their formation were already members; and his lordship strongly urged the propriety of their recommending those institutions to the notice of all who value Christian knowledge, or desire its promotion among their brethren in a foreign land.

Before concluding, his lordship introduced some highly valuable suggestions respecting the appropriate studies of the clergy, which, in India, ought to be conducted with a view to the peculiar difficulties and assaults to which the faith of their people was constantly exposed. The total, and sometimes unavoidable disuse of

public worship was of itself sufficient to engender a pernicious habit of indifference. But besides this, there was constantly before the eyes of Europeans, a gigantic superstition, which claimed immemorial antiquity—which commanded the belief of millions—which could produce, from its sacred books, occasional sentiments and conceptions not unworthy of the Deity,—which admitted that various modes of faith might be acceptable to the Almighty; and which, therefore, was perpetually undermining our allegiance to the *sole* majesty of the everlasting Gospel. All this while it was forgotten that the evidences of Christianity are peculiarly its own—that it not only boasts of prophecy and miracle, and heavenly doctrine, and supernatural influence, but that it alone is an *historical* religion. From the creation to the present hour, the history of the dispensation is before us; while, of its two competitors, the one has no history to produce, but refers us, instead, to an inscrutable antiquity; and of the other, all that can be told lies within the narrowest compass, and furnishes abundantly its own refutation. For these reasons, the Bishop urgently recommended to his clergy an attentive study of the best writers on the Christian evidences; which, considered merely as a combination of probabilities, lead to a result little short of mathematical certainty, and of which the parallel

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cannot be produced in behalf of any falsehood which has ever been imposed upon mankind.

In conclusion, he gave notice that, in order to facilitate his inquiries respecting those points which might especially demand his attention, he had directed a *circular letter* to be sent to his clergy, desiring distinct answers to several questions proposed. This was the only method by which he could become, at once, acquainted with the condition of a diocese, the complete visitation of which, within a compass of two or three years, was far beyond all ordinary strength. The result of these endeavours, he trusted, would be the establishment of Christian order and piety, wherever the principles of our faith are professed, through the British empire in the East. Their numbers, indeed, were inadequate to the spiritual wants of the people; and, he regretted to add that, in a country whose places of worship are the proudest monuments of native art, our Christian edifices are even fewer than our clergy, and are rarely such as to indicate a cordial devotion to the service of the Almighty. Still, it would be their duty to make the best use of their limited means. And it was not to be doubted that, when once the urgent wants of his diocese should be represented, a Christian government would readily attend to the first of its Christian duties.

He then dismissed them with the fervent

prayer that the succours of the Holy Spirit might be abundantly vouchsafed both to them and him; that they might be actuated by a patient zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of human souls; that each of them might habitually remember the solemn account which they must one day render at the judgment-seat of Christ; and that, in that awful day, they might be, severally, invited to enter into the joy of their Lord.

Such were the memorable words of wisdom, learning, and piety, which the father of the Indian Church first addressed to the ministers now consigned to his guidance. He was not content, however, with a general and public address. He had, conformably to the ancient practice of the Church, prepared *Articles of Enquiry*, adapted to the state of religious ministration and worship in India, with a view to their being circulated among his clergy throughout the diocese. To these articles he prefixed a circular letter[1], desiring that the answers to them

[1] "To the Rev.
"Chaplain and Minister at
"My Rev. Brother,

"Desiring to gain information of the state of my diocese in every particular which affects the interests of Christianity and the functions of my clergy, I have, conformably with an ancient and salutary usage, directed that the subjoined Articles of Inquiry should be circulated at my primary visita-

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might be framed with the strictest attention to accuracy; and from this mode of ascertaining

tion: and I have entire reliance on your readiness to return to my several interrogatories as distinct answers as your knowledge will enable you to supply. And considering that accuracy is of the highest importance to the objects in view, I do not wish that your answers should be hastily put down, but only that you will transmit them, within a month from the receipt hereof, or (in case of your not having reached your station) within two months from your arrival, under cover to my secretary at Calcutta, or, in the archdeaconries of Madras and Bombay, to the respective archdeacons.

"I heartily commend yourself and your labours to the blessing of Almighty God; and I am,

"Rev. Sir,

"Your affectionate friend and brother,

"T. F. Calcutta."

Dated at

ARTICLES OF INQUIRY, &c.

1. How long have you officiated at

2. Is there a church or chapel, or other building, at appropriated to divine service according to the Rubric of the Church of England? And is it either consecrated or licensed?

3. What are the dimensions of such place of worship? And if it be a church or chapel, has it a steeple or cupola with clock or bells, and has it a font? Or if it be only a room for temporary use, has it a reading-desk, a pulpit, and a communion table, with a large Bible, and the Book of Common Prayer?

4. What communion plate have you at ? Is a surplice provided for the chaplain? And do you wear the hood of your degree?

5. Is any provision made for the repairs of your church,

the condition of his diocese, he was disposed to anticipate the happiest effects. Having dis- CHAP. VI. 1815.

or other place of worship? And at whose expense, and when was it built?

6. Have you churchwardens or trustees for your church, or any thing resembling a vestry?

7. Are there any funds or revenues for charitable purposes at ? And by whom are they managed, and how are they applied?

8. How often is divine service performed at on the Lord's day, and at what hours of the day?

9. What festivals and fasts of the church are kept holy?

10. How often is the sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered? What is the ordinary number of communicants? And what is done with the sacramental collections?

11. When are the sick visited? And do they frequently desire to receive the sacrament?

12. At what times are Christian children instructed in the Church Catechism?

13. Is Psalm-singing used at , with or without instrumental music, in time of divine service?

14. Have you a person to act as clerk, and another as sexton? And by whom appointed?

15. Are proper books for registers provided? By whom, and where are they kept? And to whom, and how often is a copy of the entries sent?

16. Upon an average of the time during which you have officiated at , what is the annual number of baptisms, marriages, and burials? Or the actual number, if the time be less than a year?

17. If you have a church or chapel, are marriages ever solemnized in any other place? And wherever they are solemnized, do you observe the canonical hours?

18. Have you a burial ground at set

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charged the duties of his visitation at Calcutta, his thoughts were occupied with his approaching departure for the more remote regions of his vast diocese. An additional extract is here introduced, from his correspondence with Mr. Norris, because it gives a faithful exhibition both of his hopes and feelings at this period, together with an interesting account of his various occupations, and the daily distribution of his time.

"I could accomplish a good deal here, notwithstanding all other difficulties, if it had not been the policy to prevent the Bishop from having his proper consequence. My rank was taken from me on the plea that the place next the

apart exclusively for the purpose? And has it been consecrated?

19. What military or other Christian schools are there at ? And who superintend them? And if there be a military school, is it conducted on the system of Dr. Bell?

20. Do any natives attend such schools, and do any of them receive Christian instruction?

21. How many of the European military are usually stationed at ? And what number of Europeans are resident there, exclusive of the military and their families?

22. What places of Christian worship, of any denomination, besides that in which you officiate, are there at , or in its immediate vicinity?

23. Have you any remarks to offer, not immediately referring to any of these questions, but yet of importance in the general view in which they are proposed?

governor-general was unalterably appropriated to the chief justice by the law-patent: but the law-patent, I now find, adds,—'with the exception of such persons as in England take place of the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench,'—*i. e.* the Bishop, if any should be appointed! And as to my salary, the chief justice has 4000*l.* more, and the puisnes 2000*l.*, allowing for a different mode of payment, though their jurisdiction is limited to Bengal, and mine extends over India. As to my reception on landing, it was any thing but what it ought to have been. It surprised every one; so that, on the whole, there are no prejudices in my favour. Every thing is to depend on incessant exertion.

"To give you some idea how my time is taken up here, I should tell you that, immediately after breakfast this morning, I had a first call from a rich Portuguese merchant, who apologised for not having paid his respects earlier; but heard that I was going to Bombay, and offered, in case I should visit Goa, to give me letters to the archbishop and others. This led us to a long disquisition on the Portuguese establishments, especially religious, in India; and to do them justice, they did a vast deal more than all other nations put together, though it was not in the right way. This gentleman was, in due time, succeeded by a native, a Brahmin of consequence, who came also to pay his respects, and to consult me about

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a project of charity. I believe he means to endow an almshouse, and he wishes to lay before me all the particulars of his plan; but I have desired him to come again at my return, as I am now overwhelmed with business; which he has promised to do. However, he sat an hour; and these people, to whom time is of little value, seldom sit less. I have *almost* acquired the talent of concealing my impatience, and am getting into repute among them. When the Brahmin was gone, a clergyman called to take leave before he set out for his station, about 700 miles up the river, and to receive my verbal instructions; desiring, at the same time, to be recommended as a member of our Promoting Christian Knowledge Society, and promising to mention it at Cawnpore. And now my secretary has arrived on business, and we are all going to tiffin, it being about two o'clock. All that I have to shew for my morning is about two pages of this letter; and three or four notes have been answered. One has just arrived from Lord Moira, announcing peace with Nepaul, on very favourable terms for the Company.

"I have visits sometimes from a Brahmin[1] who meditates a voyage to England. He has renounced idolatry, with some hundreds of his countrymen, and is acquiring a knowledge of

[1] Rammohun Roy.

Christianity. At present he has got no further than Socinianism, and was actually about to form a 'Unitarian Society,' if I had not dissuaded him. But he has called it 'The Friendly Society.' Our next conference is to be on the divinity of Christ, &c. What will you say to me if he and his companions should be baptized at the cathedral by myself? I should observe, however, that this man requires to be assured that Trinitarianism is not Polytheism, of which he has a very just abhorrence. I am very often placed in very singular situations. This Brahmin requested me the other day to read over to him my Advent Sermon, (which had been mentioned to him,) on "Thy kingdom come;" and it engaged us, with notes and comments, for two hours. And yesterday evening, at the grand fête, at the government-house, there was a very extraordinary personage,—whose like had never been seen at Calcutta,—a nobleman from the kingdom of Ava, most whimsically attired, and with a brass head-piece, just like the tower of a pagoda, surmounted by a weathercock. And this man desired to be introduced to me to ask my blessing!

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"I believe this letter will be delivered to you by Dr. Ward, who has been fifteen years in India, as a chaplain. He is a respectable man, and exceedingly zealous on the side of orthodoxy.—I doubt not, you will find him a very valuable ally in promoting the views of any society formed in

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defence of sound principles. I could wish that he could be noticed. He knows a great deal about India, and might be useful in the East India Missionary Committee; but I believe he will reside at Norwich . . . . . How anxiously do I desire that Providence may preserve me for some years, and enable me to do well in India; and then, that I may, once more, find myself among you all at Bartlett's Buildings! My imagination is frequently delighted with the idea,—but it is almost too much to ask!"

There is, in the last sentence of this letter, something of a melancholy presentiment that it would be his doom to fall in the post he then occupied. At the same time it should be remembered, to his honour, that the highest *earthly* reward to which he aspired, was to be once more among the wise and the good, in his own country, and to be engaged with them in designs of benevolence and piety. The various other particulars adverted to in this letter are singularly interesting, as they display that picturesque variety which chequers the surface of Asiatic life. They exhibit an Indian bishop in the midst of elements and combinations, with which the duties of an English prelate never could make him familiar. The conferences with the Brahmin, Rammohun Roy, indeed, have a still higher interest. They illustrate the remark, so frequently made by Bishop Middleton in the course of his correspondence,

that the leaven of European intelligence was beginning to spread a considerable fermentation through the mass of Indian society. The native mind, he often observes, is evidently at work; whether for good or evil, must mainly depend, under Divine Providence, on the wisdom and virtue of our countrymen.

CHAPTER VII.

The Bishop embarks on his Primary Visitation for Madras—Condition of the Clergy at that Presidency—District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Visit to the Civil College, Madras—Examination of Native Students—Letter to Mr. Watson—Consecration of St. George's Church—Confirmation—Visit from the Nabob of the Carnatic—Letter to Mr. Ward—Visit to the Mission at Vepery—Proceeds by land on his Southern Tour—Mode of travelling—Mahabalipooram, or the Seven Pagodas—Pondicherry—Cuddalore, decayed state of the Mission—Chillumbrum Pagodas—Interview with Brahmins—Tranquebar, state of the Danish Mission—Assisted by the Bishop—Myaveram—Combaconum—The missionary Kohlhoff—Tanjore—Interview with the Rajah—Monument to Swartz—his death-bed—Trichinopoly—The missionary Pohlè—Palamcotta—Congregation of Christians—David, son of Settieneden—Arambooly Pass—The missionary Ringeltaube—Quilon—Visit from the Vicar-General of Cranganore—English Congregation at Quilon—Interview with the Syrian Bishop Mar Dionysius.

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On the 18th of December, 1815, Bishop Middleton quitted Calcutta in furtherance of his primary visitation, which, out and home together, amounted to no less than 5000 miles; a formidable

progress when compared with the corresponding journeys performed by Christian prelates in countries long under the dominion of the Cross. It should here be remembered that no provision had been made by the legislature for the expenses of the Bishop's visitation. He had, indeed, stipulated for some allowance on this account when he accepted the appointment; and it was afterwards fixed at 10,000 rupees[1] for the visitation to Madras, and 10,000 rupees to Bombay, besides the use of a ship. At this time, however, no allowance was assigned to the Bishop, nor were any instructions respecting his accommodation forwarded to the local governments from England. Fortunately, the governor-general was sensible that such visits were absolutely essential to the full efficiency of the episcopal office; and also, that the inevitable cost of those journeys would be far too heavy for the moderate income of the Bishop. His Excellency the Earl of Moira, therefore, determined that his comfort, security, and respectable appearance, should be liberally provided for at the public charge; but, not being aware of the exact sum which might be required for that purpose, he issued orders for engaging a vessel to convey the Bishop to Madras, and dispatched instructions to the governments of Madras and Bombay, to prepare a suitable

[1] Less than 1,000*l.*

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house for him during his residence in each of those settlements, and, in general, to provide for his conveyance and accommodation in an appropriate manner. Some misunderstanding having subsequently arisen on this subject in England, it is proper to state that, according to his own account of the matter, the arrangements for his comfort were made upon a scale of abundant liberality. "My attendants," (from Madras,) he says, in a letter to England [1], "were Mrs. Middleton, and a female friend, Archdeacon Loring, Mr. Abbot (my secretary), a medical gentleman, and Lieutenant Swanton, commanding a small party of soldiers: and altogether, with servants and their attendants, my party must have been between 400 and 500! Even provisions were found me on the journey, with the exception of wine. What the whole expedition cost I have never heard; but I have no doubt that it exceeded my future allowance . . . . There was no parsimony in this instance, but I had for myself and my family all the comforts that I could desire. It is, indeed, a very different thing from travelling in England, and so it ever must be; but the government were very liberal."

The ship which conveyed the Bishop to Madras was the *Cecilia,* an armed vessel be-

[1] Dated August 18, 1817.

longing to the Company's marine. He arrived on the evening of the 25th: but this being Christmas-day, he deferred his landing till the 26th of December. His reception there was respectful and honourable. He landed under a salute of fifteen guns from the fort, and the admiral's house was prepared for his entertainment. At Madras he found abundant reason to be satisfied with his kind and hospitable reception. He nevertheless discerned various indications which led him to apprehend that he should experience here less cordial support than he had received from the supreme authority at Calcutta. The government of this presidency contemplated, with little appearance of satisfaction, a change of system, which might, by possibility, be injurious to their influence and patronage. That some change, however, had become highly expedient, is evident from the extremely anomalous condition to which the clergy appear to have been reduced at this presidency. "Within two years," says the Bishop, "a clergyman of good character was put under arrest by his commanding officer. In another instance, a military officer chose to have notice of the sacrament inserted in regimental orders: and, in a third, an officer ordered a chaplain to do the duty in a place so offensive that nobody could attend." Such, indeed, was the degradation to which the former

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system frequently exposed the chaplains, that the Bishop expresses his astonishment that respectable men (for such, he attests, for the most part they really were), should be found to accept the appointment. These circumstances are here adverted to, solely for the purpose of making manifest the disorder and the mischief which are sure to spring up, in the absence of an effective ecclesiastical discipline; and of shewing that a greater benefit could scarcely be conferred on the cause of Christianity in India than the transfer of its ministers to episcopal superintendence.

Among the most gratifying duties which awaited his lordship at this presidency was, that of witnessing and of encouraging the proceedings of the district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had been established previously to his arrival, and which had the good fortune to secure the invaluable services of Mr. Richard Clarke, of the Madras civil service, in the office of secretary. He had the satisfaction to learn that their operations were taking an useful and prudent course; that, in strict harmony with his own views, they were confined, for the present, exclusively to European objects; and that the Society was receiving constant accessions of strength and support. He found too, with inexpressible pleasure, that the advantages of the system

were understood and appreciated by several of the military officers, who manifested a truly Christian desire to obtain prayer-books for the European barracks and hospitals: and who thus engaged in a course of beneficence which, as his lordship most truly observed, would benefit and bless the donors, quite as abundantly as the objects of their bounty. "You will have learned," he says, in a subsequent letter to Archdeacon Watson, "that the district committee is established, and succeeds beyond my hopes; and what is more, it is beginning to act, in consequence of my having rummaged the Society's stores at the different mission stations, and ordered all the books which could be spared to be sent off to the committee. Their remittance of 240*l.* is now on its way to England, and, since it was made, the members have nearly doubled. They amount now at Madras to about sixty. At Bombay I hope to do something for you, though from the smallness of the settlement but little can be expected. However, notwithstanding objections and impediments, I think Bombay will increase the remittances to 1000*l.* in the whole. I wish I could do more for you; but I assure you there was a time when I did not think it possible to do so much."

The 26th of January the Bishop devoted to the College of Madras. This institution was founded by the local government of the presi-

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dency, and its objects were, to train teachers of the native languages for the junior civil servants; to prepare vakeels, or native pleaders, for the business of the provincial courts; to instruct Mahometan and Hindoo jurists, and to certify them as qualified for the duty of pronouncing opinions on questions of law. A Board of the Company's civil servants preside over the establishment, and, at the time of the Bishop's visit, Mr. W. F. Ellis was at the head of that board. His lordship was present at an examination of native students in the Hindoo law of descent and inheritance. The exhibition was curious and novel. The law exercise was in the form of an extemporaneous disputation in Sanscrit. This was followed by recitations of poetry in various languages and metres, performed by the Moonshees, or language-masters, who were studying in the college, in a sort of rhythmical and measured utterance, approaching to a chant. To any intelligent observer this display could not, of course, be otherwise than singularly interesting. To the Bishop the interest was of a somewhat melancholy cast. It powerfully deepened the persuasion, which he already entertained, that infinitely more was to be done, than sanguine benevolence and piety might suspect, before much impression could be made on the monumental system of religion and law combined, which was the object of all this

study and competition. And it can hardly be doubted that he retired from the scene confirmed in his resolution to commence his own course by endeavouring to strengthen the cause of Christianity among his own countrymen, and to qualify them to recommend the Gospel to the natives by their own life and example.

It will be proper to introduce in this place a pretty copious extract from a letter of the Bishop's, written from Madras, previously to the visit which he afterwards made to the southern missions, and extremely important as developing the general views and designs then entertained by him relative to those establishments.

To Joshua Watson, Esq.

Madras, January 5, 1816.

"I have not yet been able to look into the state of our mission at Vepery, which is a suburb of Madras. But from what I hear of it, I fear it is but in a moderate condition. The strength of the mission seems to be in Mr. Kohlhoff, at Tanjore: for though Mr. Pohlè, at Trichinopoly is most highly spoken of as a pious and exemplary man, he is very much advanced in years, and seems to be sinking very fast. I purpose, however, for the sake of the Society, to visit all the three missionary stations, and, of course, I will communicate the result.

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I have had an application from the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar, who are, in consequence of an utter failure of remittances from Denmark, in a state of great distress: and, from what I can understand, unless they meet with at least temporary relief, they *must* transfer their services to some one of the numerous mission societies which are established in India. It has occurred to me, that, considering the very old connection which has subsisted between the Danish mission and our own Society, I should probably be fulfilling the wish of the latter, if I were, on its account, to lend assistance to the Danish missionaries. Before I left England, there was something said at Bartlett's Buildings, respecting a vote of credit to me of 1,000*l.*: and though I have not heard, *officially*, a single syllable on the subject, yet I should hardly hesitate to act upon the Society's Report of 1814, p. 50, where I find that the vote was granted, to be applied in any way which I might 'deem most consonant to the Society's designs.' I can determine nothing until I see the state of the mission by visiting Tranquebar. But if I should be induced to come forward, it would probably be by a monthly aid, amounting to 20*l.* or (240*l.* per annum); taking from them a pledge, that they will transfer their services to the Society, if desired, and make one mission with that at present belonging to us. If I should come to

this determination, the expense to the Society, before I can receive their answer, will be, probably, one-third of my vote of credit, by which they will at least gain the means of employing the two remaining Danish missionaries, Messrs. Cæmmerer and Schreyvogel; and, eventually, be enabled to extend their mission to the south of India. Should this seem expedient, (besides gaining the credit of an act of liberality, which in the present state of the public mind in England, may be of some use,) some zealous members of our newly formed committees are very anxious to come forward with a public subscription in the name of the Society; but I see great objections to every such kind of interference. Our district committees are now well established with every prospect of success. My chief difficulty, and I assure you it is no small one, is to moderate the zeal of those who would wish us to engage in every project not incompatible with the Society's designs; and who, by a single act of indiscretion, would ruin us at once. Nothing can require more management and caution. I should not, however, apprehend danger from any assistance to the Danish missionaries from the Society *at home*. It has always maintained missionaries on the coast; whereas *we*, the local committees, must confine our exertions to our countrymen, in barracks, hospitals, jails, &c.; in which there is enough to

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employ us for some years, with the good wishes, or at least, the acquiescence of all parties. Nothing can be clearer than the course we ought to pursue. In truth, only one is open to us.

The two great points for your consideration at the meetings of the Society, if I should proceed in this business at Tranquebar, is, how far an extension of your missions is desirable? And whether you would adopt the Danish mission, oppressed as it is with debt? As to the first, you would thus maintain a very considerable Christian establishment in the south of India, in which, unquestionably, you would confer great blessings, *even though you should never be instrumental to the conversion of the natives.* Indeed, I have no notion myself, though I speak with diffidence, that the fabric of idolatry in this country will ever *be shaken by the preaching of missionaries. My only hope is in the general diffusion of knowledge and the arts,* as preparatory to a feeling of interest about our religion: and then the preaching of missionaries will operate on the minds of the higher classes, without whose concurrence all hope of extensive conversion must be groundless. *There is not, probably, any country in the world in which so much depends upon example.* As to the debt of the mission, it is at present about 1,650*l.* or 1,700*l.* a very large sum! But yet, perhaps, it might be raised by the Society, considering the

popularity of the object. However, in all this, I am only anticipating the question. It is possible I may see the affair in another light when I reach the spot."

The same letter contains a gratifying account of the consecration of a noble church, and the first confirmation held at Madras.

"Yesterday I consecrated a handsomer church (that of St. George,) than any which I recollect in London, supported on eighteen Ionic columns, which no English eye would distinguish from marble, with a lofty and elegant spire, and standing in a field, (also to be consecrated) of five or six acres, surrounded with rows of palm trees. The whole conveys a magnificent idea of Christianity in the East. The surrounding scenery tells you immediately that you are not in England. I was assisted on this occasion by seven of my clergy; a great number to bring together in this country: and the solemnity seems to have been very gratifying to the inhabitants. This morning I confirmed nearly 300, of whom I rejoiced to find a large portion were adults . . . . A respect for the ordinances of our religion is gaining ground. To-morrow morning I am to receive, at ten o'clock, a deputation from the Armenian nation, who are numerous at Madras: and at eleven, no less a person than his highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, who returns my visit; and, on which

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occasion, the guns will be fired from the fort. On Thursday I am to hold my primary visitation at this place. My charge [1] is principally on church discipline, a thing unknown in India, and you will readily imagine I do not overlook the claims of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." In a postscript he adds, "I have just received the Armenian deputation, with their patriarch's nuncio at their head. Their conversation turned chiefly on two points, namely, that the Armenian language is the most ancient in the world, and was spoken by Noah. And that the Bible Society will convert all nations to the Christian faith!"

Of the visit of honour to the nabob of the Carnatic, mentioned by the Bishop in the above extract, a minute and picturesque account is given by him in the following letter to Mr. Ward.

Madras, Dec. 27, 1815.

My dear Friend,

I anchored in these roads yesterday morning after a passage of eight days from Calcutta, in a brig destined to carry myself and my suite thus far on my visitation. This morning I received the visits of the clergy, and called upon the governor, and to-morrow I am to be at home

[1] Of this charge a copious abstract has been given above, page 164—173.

to the commander-in-chief and other visitors. When these ceremonials are all gone through, I must sit down to business, consecrate the church, hold a confirmation, and on another day a visitation, and set in order the affairs of this part of my diocese. My plan is then to proceed over land with my family, my camels, and my tents, with an escort of cavalry, to the south of India, to visit different stations, and thence to Cochin, where again I expect to take shipping for Bombay. Such an episcopal visitation is probably unknown in the annals of Christianity: the distance by sea and land will be little less than 5000 miles!

January 3, 1816.

I have this morning been engaged in a ceremonial perfectly new to me; a visit of form to his highness the nabob of the Carnatic. The grandfather of this prince possessed the whole of the Carnatic; but the grandson has been relieved from the cares and fatigues of government, and has a pension of one-fifth of the revenues of his family dominions, amounting to about 80,000*l.* per annum. He resides in a large old palace on the sea-shore, and keeps up somewhat of native state when he receives visitors. I went attended by my chaplain (Archdeacon Loring) and secretary. On entering the court-yard I was received by his soldiery, who presented

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arms, the drums beating, &c. and near the house were the elephants and camels brought out to aid the shew. As we passed along, the guns were fired from the ramparts; and as I approached the door, his highness and four or five sons came to welcome me on alighting from the carriage. According to the established etiquette, we embraced each other, and the same also with respect to the sons. The nabob then put his right arm over my shoulder, and we walked together through the presence chamber, to the far end of it, where he seated me on the musnud, a sort of sofa, and placed me on his left hand. We then talked over some very common topics for a quarter of an hour, when large chaplets of yellow flowers were brought, and one of them was placed by his highness over my shoulders. He then dropped some ittyr of roses, and poured rose-water profusely over my handkerchief: the next thing was to present me with betel nuts, and having desired me to call my attendants, did the same with them. He then walked with me from the musnud, with his arm over my shoulder, followed by his sons; and after another embracing at the door of my carriage, the business concluded with another discharge of artillery. This kind of ceremony I shall probably go through two or three times before I reach home again, as there are several native princes resident in my route; and I could not be guilty of

greater rudeness than not to pay my respects to them: it would, indeed, be a want of humanity to fallen greatness. Since returning from the nabob, on our sitting down to tiffin, we were amused with the performance of some native musicians, who have within these few days come from Trichinopoly to pick up money at Madras: the band consists of a guitar, a flute, and a small native instrument of the simplest construction, unlike any thing I had seen. They played both Indian and English airs, and sweeter music I have never heard. They played "God save the King," and sang it in the native accent very pleasingly. I could not help wishing that they were returning to Trichinopoly, through which I am to pass. I should have been disposed now and then to have them to my tent: their simple melody would have a powerful effect on weary travellers, reclining under the shade of the banian tree; but possibly we may meet with others on our way. Mrs. Middleton and my whole party are in good spirits for the journey; though it is a vast undertaking: but if we have strength, it will not be deficient in interest: we shall meet with Christian congregations at every step, and the scenery of Tinnevelly and Travancore is perhaps the best in India. At the time of your receiving this, if Providence preserve me, I shall perhaps be at Colombo in the isle of

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Ceylon on my return to Bengal. God bless you and yours: Ever affectionately,

T. F. Calcutta.

With respect to the consecration which has been alluded to above [1], one or two remarks may here be necessary. It appears that this was the first time that the Bishop had been called upon to perform this office since his arrival in India. The cathedral at Calcutta had long been used for Christian worship, and might, perhaps, be said to have, virtually, undergone the solemnity of consecration by the Bishop's installation in it. The mission church, the only one besides the cathedral in which the English Liturgy was used, had been formerly opened for divine service, according to the Lutheran formularies, by Mr. Kiernander. At Madras it was stated to him that the church in the fort had been consecrated by a special commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury, without endowment or formal conveyance either of church or burial-ground. The Bishop was naturally anxious to correct this irregular and unsatisfactory mode of proceeding, and to bring it, as nearly as might be possible, to a conformity with that which is observed in this country. Wherever it was practicable, he accordingly required deeds from the local govern-

[1] Page 193.

ment, conveying the church and cemetery to trustees, as consecrated and set apart for ever. In others, the circumstances were such as compelled him to be satisfied with the written consent of the government, as founders, that he should proceed to consecration. The rest of the ceremonial was to be conformed to the rules of the ecclesiastical law.

Before his lordship proceeded southward, he visited the mission at Vepery, near Madras, which at that time was fallen into a state of inefficiency and decay. This ancient mission was originally established by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, about 1730, upon the proposal of the Rev. Mr. Schultze, one of the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar. A church and mission-house were immediately built, which latter was destroyed by the French in 1746. In 1750, through the good offices of Admiral Boscawen, and encouraged by the governor in council, a new church and mission-houses were provided. Among the Society's missionaries at this station are found the names of Fabricius and Gericke; men eminent for their zeal and piety; the latter of whom bequeathed 15,000 pagodas for the use of the mission. There were two schools attached to this mission, one English, the other Tamil,—and the spiritual interests of the congregation were generally in charge of two missionaries. The sole management of it at this time was in the hands of

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the missionary Pæzold, under whom its operations had been languid, and its resources misapplied. Its funds had been wasted in the maintenance of idle and undeserving paupers, while the children of the congregation were left untaught, and the duties of the church irregularly and negligently performed. A considerable quantity of books had been accumulated in the storehouse of the mission, and the press had for a long period been wholly inactive. The books were instantly placed by the Bishop at the disposal of the Madras district committee, and Mr. Pæzold was called upon, without delay, to submit estimates of the expense which would be necessary for restoring the press to its full activity. Having thus done all that could then be accomplished towards reviving this ancient and important mission, the Bishop quitted Madras on the 31st of January, 1816, and proceeded on his visitation by land.

The progress of the first Protestant Bishop of India, through so large a portion of his diocese is a subject of high and solemn interest. The visitation of Bishop Middleton, momentous as it was, is destitute, perhaps, of much of that picturesque attraction which leads the general reader over the footsteps of his gifted successor; for it does not appear that, like Bishop Heber, he kept any regular journal during his travels; or, if he did, it must have been, unhappily, con-

signed to the flames after his decease, together with his other papers, conformably to the peremptory injunctions of his will. Still it would be unpardonable to defraud the Christian world of such an itinerary of his expedition, (for so it may be justly called,) as may be collected from accessible sources of information.

Previously to entering on this portion of the narrative, it will be proper to pause a moment, for the purpose of adverting to the curious fact, that one most important object of the Bishop's visitation had, before he set out, been in imminent danger of being defeated. We have already seen that the episcopal authority was viewed at Madras with a jealousy more sensitive than even at the seat of supreme government. To this it may now be added that the apprehensions of danger from the superstitious bigotry of the idolaters were more lively in that quarter than at the capital. Accordingly, when it was known that the Bishop had in contemplation a visit to the southern Protestant congregations, the project was, at first, a signal for alarm in the political circles of the English residents; and the dreams of statesmen were haunted by the terrors of the mutiny at Vellore. A body of Hindoo soldiery, in the service of the Company, had there been driven to sanguinary vengeance by an insane attempt to efface certain superstitious marks from their foreheads: and

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this was represented as a prelude to the forcible introduction of Christianity, at a time when the wars with Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sahib were scarcely brought to a conclusion, or the hostile feelings of the natives been allowed to subside. It was, *therefore,* concluded, that the peaceful circuit of a Christian prelate among the native congregations of his diocese, would instantly be exaggerated by the fears of the heathens, into a crusade against the religion of their fathers! But, although such apprehensions were certainly afloat, while the Bishop was at Madras, they, fortunately, did not embody themselves in the form of any official obstruction to his proceedings. The circumstance is here alluded to as strongly illustrative of the state of feeling and opinion prevalent at that time in many parts of India, respecting matters connected with religion. The confidence of the most enlightened classes, has, since that time, been completely won, by the wisdom and moderation of ecclesiastical proceedings in India; and it is probable that many, whose imaginations then converted the pastoral crozier into the rod of oppression and persecution, would, at the present day, be the first to smile at their own credulity.

The journey upon which the Bishop was now entering, was widely different in all its details from the visitation of an English prelate tra-

velling with dispatch and ease, from one end of his diocese to the other, generally with little fatigue or inconvenience, attended at every stage by the substantial comforts of an English inn, or by the more refined hospitalities of the country gentleman's mansion. The imagination cannot but be strangely excited by a comparison of these tame, prosaic, but very agreeable accommodations, with the moving picture of the Asiatic prelate throughout his progress. His mode of travelling is represented by himself as altogether patriarchal. He was attended by his whole establishment. He and the members of his family were conveyed, not in the stately coach, with the mitre on the panel, with sleek horses in the harness, and with the grave and massy coachman upon the box; but all the individuals reclined in their respective palanquins, borne on the shoulders of half naked and swarthy Hindoos, surrounded by guards armed, some of them with lance and target, and arrayed in picturesque and fanciful costume; attended by tents and beds, provisions and baggage, disposed upon the backs of camels; in short, a complete Asiatic caravan, containing within itself most of those supplies which the more advanced civilization furnishes at every step. The armed attendants alluded to above, consisted partly of the native police who accompanied the Bishop through their respective

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districts, and partly of the escort of regular troops which attended him, as a guard of honour, appointed by the government, under the command of an English officer. In this manner thousands of miles were to be traversed, at a rate often inexpressibly wearisome compared with the rapidity of European, and especially of English locomotion. In order to avoid the inconvenience and danger of the heat, the day's journey is usually performed in India before the sun is high, and from ten to fifteen miles is about the average distance.

The first scene of any interest, which he reached, was the village of Mahabalipooram, commonly known by the name of the Seven Pagodas, with its enormous masses of rock and ancient sculpture. These marvellous remains of antiquity are situated near the sea, at the distance of about thirty-eight English miles southerly from Madras. A distant view of the place presents nothing but naked rock to the eye of the traveller. On a nearer approach, the attention is arrested by a Hindoo pagoda, hewn out of the rock, and covered with sculpture; and near to the structure, the surface of the rock, to the extent of about ninety feet in length, and thirty in height, is overlaid with figures in bas relief. Opposite, and surrounded by a wall of stone, are pagodas of brick, said to be of great antiquity. Adjoining are excavations, of which the massy

roof is apparently supported by columns, in an unfinished state, but somewhat similar to those of Elephanta. In another part of the rock itself, is an excavation still more spacious, forming a temple, dedicated to Siva, of which the sculptures are altogether astonishing, especially of the goddess herself, whose figure and action are represented in a spirited and masterly style of execution. The village of Mahabalipooram is inhabited by a few Brahmins, who give a traditional account of these prodigious structures, which does not ascribe to them a greater antiquity than a thousand years [1]. Quitting these wonders of ingenuity, perseverance, and superstition, the Bishop passed on by Alumparva to Pondicherry, which he reached on the 7th of February, and where he had an opportunity of visiting the church of the Capuchins and the Jesuit's College, together with its library, containing many volumes on useful and interesting subjects, but most of them in a state of decay far from creditable to the literary character of the fraternity. It is, however, honourable to these Romish divines that, forgetting for a moment the differences of their creed, and remembering only their common Christianity, they sent a respectful deputation to the Protestant Bishop,

[1] Accounts of these antiquities are to be found in the Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 165, and vol. v. p. 69.

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and courteously presented books for his acceptance.

On the 9th of February he proceeded from Pondicherry to Cuddalore, another of the ancient missionary stations of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. This establishment once depended for its support on remittances from the Orphan House of Halle, in Saxony, which had been now long discontinued. The mission comprehended Old and New Cuddalore, and extended to several villages, to Porto-Novo, and to Pondicherry. At this place he visited Mr. Holzberg, formerly a missionary under the Society, but at that time suspended from their service in consequence of certain charges and complaints against him. From this minister he received a melancholy representation of the decayed state of the mission; the decline of which was partly to be ascribed to the desertion of the place by many Christian families, in search of a livelihood, which they could not find upon the spot, and partly, it is to be feared, to the inefficiency of the missionary himself. His lordship afterwards sent him relief for his own wants and those of his congregation. The Bishop's classical imagination was here regaled with a scene which realized, with precision, what is often found represented in the remains of antique European sculpture. While sitting in his tent in the evening his attention was attracted

by several persons, who were employed in beating a tom-tom, or sort of drum, and playing upon a rustic fife, followed by several others who were leading a sheep, apparently to sacrifice. He could have fancied himself, for the moment, removed back to ages long gone by, and transported to the regions of Greek or Roman superstition. The procession was watched, by some of the Bishop's party, to a temple in the neighbourhood of the spot; and the lifeless animal was soon after brought back, after having been immolated with the customary solemnities.

On the 12th, he reached the great pagodas at Chillumbrum, which he visited in the course of the same evening, and where a large assemblage of Brahmins, and others, were in attendance to meet him. They pressed forward with eager curiosity to look upon the high-priest of the Europeans, and were quite willing to exhibit to him the external courts and houses of their gods; nor did they scruple to beg for his money towards their repair. This interview, is in one respect, by no means destitute of importance; since it shews that the natives are much less apt, than is sometimes imagined, to be agitated with alarms for the safety and honour of their religion. The Bishop afterwards learned that certain Mahometans at Madras, had contrived to send before him a rumour, that his excursion was preparatory to a scheme for the suppression of the Hindoo

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faith, and for the compulsory conversion of the natives to the Gospel. No apparent symptoms however, of jealousy or distrust were excited by these sinister reports among the Hindoo priesthood. They conducted him, without the slightest reserve, over their sacred premises, without seeming to imagine that he had any hostile or insidious designs. That his appearance excited something more than idle curiosity may well be imagined. They were by no means quite certain that the English were provided with any religion at all. Their astonishment, therefore, may be imagined, on finding that they had actually among them the head of the English Church establishment in India! It is true he did not approach them with a pompous procession, nor with instruments of music, nor with singing men or singing women; but this they easily accounted for, by the surmise that he must be a person of very eminent sanctity and self-denial, and that he had bidden farewell to all secular vanities and enjoyments!

On the 14th of February he reached the Danish territory, two miles from Tranquebar. His arrival at the town was announced by a salute of the artillery, and was marked by a vast concourse of inquisitive spectators, and by the attendance at the town-house of the governor, Admiral Billè, and of the principal inhabitants of the place, who were assembled for his honourable

reception. He was anxious at this place to visit the mission church and the library attached to it. The latter he found in a very poor condition. His curiosity, however, was gratified by the loan of a Syriac volume on the sufferings and death of Christ by one Benjamin Sultan, formerly a preacher of the Gospel among the Syrian Christians of Malabar. The mission itself he found in the lowest stage of embarrassment and decay, in consequence of the failure of remittances from the parent country. The account of this visit, and of his proceedings there shall be given in his own words, extracted from a letter to Archdeacon Watson, dated Palamcotta, March 22, 1816.

"In the course of this extraordinary visitation I have already met with incidents which, I dare say, would be found interesting if we could talk about them. I was much pleased with Tranquebar. The place is, indeed, in great distress, and the people are living on incomes which, in this country, appear still smaller by comparison; but I never saw poverty more respectable. The mission there is every thing, and the missionaries are the regular clergy of the place. It was expected, I believe, that, as a member of the Society, I should do something for the mission, and this increased the interest attached to my visit. As I entered the town, the population of the place was sent to meet me, or at the win-

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dows, or on the house-tops, which are flat. The next day the Danish governor gave a dinner to myself, &c., at his country house; and I returned the compliment by inviting his Excellency and the whole municipality to dinner on the day following."—The same letter contains the following statement, respecting the aid which he judged it expedient to grant to this mission, in pursuance of the intention which he had already announced to Mr. Joshua Watson.

"In my letter to your brother I mentioned my intention of visiting the Society's missions, and I alluded to the distresses of the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar. Considering our connection with that mission, I have thought it right to grant it (at the expense of the Society, and out of the credit voted,) an aid of about 200*l.* But the particulars are fully stated in a letter to Dr. Gaskin[1]. I have only to add one circumstance, which I could not so well mention in a letter to be read at the meeting of the Society, that the step which I have taken is a very popular one for their interests; and this is a point which, in the present state of feeling and opinion in this country, I thought it important to attend to. The Society has had to encounter some prejudices, which I am anxious

[1] Secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

to remove; and it is my decided opinion that its own missions must have immediate support." It is pleasing to reflect that by this most judicious and seasonable application to the vote of credit assigned to him by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, he had the inexpressible satisfaction of preserving this ancient and important mission from utter ruin; for their effects were, at this time, on the point of being sold, and the Colombo Bible Society were actually in treaty for their presses and their types!

On the 17th February the Bishop proceeded to Myaveram, where he found an invitation from the resident of Tanjore, together with an intimation that the Rajah proposed to send his minister to meet his lordship on his approach to that country. At Combaconum, the chief civil station in the province, he was met by Mr. Kohloff, the missionary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge at Tanjore, the pupil and successor of Swartz, a person whose appearance and demeanour were expressive of the most primitive simplicity. The Bishop was hailed as a deliverer and a benefactor by that venerable man; for he had heard of the blessed relief which his lordship had been enabled to extend towards the perishing mission at Tranquebar; and, although himself labouring in another service, he had the heart and the eye of a brother towards the distresses of those who were devoted

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to one common cause. On the 21st he had an opportunity of surveying the village of Combaconum, which is of immense extent, and is remarkable for the number of its tanks, pagodas, and ancient edifices. But it is more especially noted for one reservoir of enormous dimensions, and invested with something of a legendary and sacred character. Once in twelve years, when the planet Jupiter enters the sign of Leo, it is the resort of votaries, who crowd to it from every quarter of Hindostan, for the purpose of bathing in its waters. No less than 700,000 persons have been known to assemble on this sort of pilgrimage; a fact which will not appear incredible to those who know the superstitious veneration universally entertained in India for the waters of the Ganges, and the prevalent belief that this vast tank has a secret communication with that consecrated stream. The only other object worthy of attention, was a palace of the Rajah of Tanjore, chiefly remarkable for the mythological paintings with which the walls are covered, and which, the Bishop was informed, represented a nuptial solemnity and procession of Vishnu. From these monuments of idolatry and folly, he gladly turned away to the congregation assembled at the little school, consisting principally of natives, Christian and Hindoo, under the care of Mr. Kohlhoff. He witnessed with great satisfaction the performances of these poor children, and

made each individual of them happy by the gift of a double fanam; (about 4*d.*) A small gratuity was likewise left both with the catechist and the schoolmaster. CHAP. VII. 1816.

The Bishop's visit to Tanjore, which immediately followed, is, of course, one of the most interesting and memorable of his journey: for who could visit unmoved the scene of Swartz's almost apostolic labours? the place to which his presence formerly, and his name, at this moment, have given a sacredness, which belongs, perhaps, to few spots besides on the habitable globe, with the exception of those which were trodden by the very feet of the first Evangelists! And with what deep emotion must the first Anglican Bishop have surveyed the schools, and the library, and the chapel, and the cemetery, to every part and recess of which the memory of that incomparable man have imparted such a holy charm,—such an imperishable interest! And, then, how unspeakably gratifying must it have been to stand in the presence of that very native prince, who was won and overpowered by this glorious example of Christian excellence, who still cherishes a filial recollection for the departed saint, and who, actually to this day, calls him father[1]. The

[1] Maha Rajah Sarabojee was the pupil of Swartz, from the time he was twelve years old to twenty-four; and succeeded to the musnud the year after Swartz died, in 1799.

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reception given by the Rajah to the head of the English Church, was in exact correspondence with his gratitude and reverence for the Christian missionary. On the approach of the Bishop to Tanjore, the resident, Colonel Blackburne, had written to invite him to the residency, where he was received with every mark of respect and hospitality. Very soon after he had reached the residency, the prime minister of the Rajah waited on him, to congratulate him on his safe arrival, and to express an earnest wish, on the part of his highness, that the Bishop would favour him with a visit at the palace; and an early day was fixed for that purpose. When the Bishop and his suite repaired to the palace, in the Fort of Tanjore, he was attended by Colonel Blackburne, and by Captain Michael[1], who then commanded the resident's escort and all the British troops in the province of Tanjore, and who also officiated as assistant translator to the resident. On the presentation of the Bishop, his highness, the Rajah, descended from his musnud, received the Bishop at the steps of the durbar, embraced him with the warmest cordiality and courtesy, and, after the customary enquiries respecting his health, expressed the gratification with which he saw the chief of our religious establishment in

[1] Now professor of Hindoo Literature at the East India College, near Hertford.

his country, and at his court. Then turning to Mrs. Blackburne, who was present, he requested her to conduct Mrs. Middleton to the ladies' apartments, and to introduce her to the queen and his daughters. In the course of his conversation with the Bishop, his highness dwelt, with evident delight, on the blessings which the heavenly lessons and virtues of Swartz, had shed upon him and his people, and he concluded by professing the warmest respect for those excellent men, Mr. Kohlhoff and his fellow-workers, who had succeeded to the labours of their venerable predecessor. He avowed an honest pride in declaring that, though the Company had testified their respect for his memory, by a monument at Madras, yet they must yield the precedency to him,—for that he was first to honour the deceased, by sending to England for the monument which is now fixed at the Fort church at Tanjore[1]. He subsequently assured an English officer, that no occurrence, since he had occupied the throne, had given him more lively gratification than this visit of the English prelate; and that, since he must so soon lose his society, he hoped to indemnify himself by the pleasure of his correspondence.

To the princely courtesies of the Rajah, the

[1] The following is the inscription on the stone which covers the grave of Swartz, and which is eminently curious and interesting, as being the composition of the Rajah himself,

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Bishop, of course, replied in language of suitable respect. He did not fail to thank his highness for his kindness to our mission, intimating that he was doubly bound to make this acknowledgment, both as a member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and because it was under the especial patronage of the English bishops. When the conference was finished,

probably the only specimen of English versification ever attempted by a prince of India.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY

OF THE

REVEREND CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SWARTZ,

MISSIONARY TO THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,

IN LONDON;

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE

ON THE 13TH OF FEBRUARY, 1798,

AGED 71 YEARS & 4 MONTHS.

Firm wast thou, humble and wise,
Honest, pure, free from disguise,
Father of Orphans, the Widows' support,
Comfort in sorrow of every sort,
To the benighted dispenser of Light,
Doing, and pointing to, that which is right.
Blessing to Princes, to People, to me:
May I, my Father, be worthy of thee!
Wisheth and Prayeth thy SARABOJEE.

The inscription on the monument erected at the Fort church by the Rajah, will be found in the Appendix.

he was conducted by the Rajah in person over the interior of the palace. The library he found to contain a larger and more miscellaneous collection of books than could, probably, be found in the possession of any other native Hindoo, and indicated habits of considerable intelligence and curiosity. Of these volumes, several were English, others French, German, Greek, and Latin, and some on the subject of medicine and anatomy, which was his favourite study; and as an appropriate accompaniment to them, an ivory skeleton was exhibited, which was so contrived as to take to pieces, and the construction of which the Rajah appeared thoroughly to understand. The pictures were, for the most part, the work of native artists, and consisted chiefly of family portraits, and representations of the missionaries, from which latter his highness selected one of Swartz, as the most acceptable memorial he could confer. Subsequently, on the occasion of his son's coming of age, he sent the Bishop his own portrait, a large miniature in a frame of gold.

On the 24th of February, the Rajah returned the Bishop's visit with unusual grandeur. He was preceded by six elephants, of which two were of enormous size, and one of them always produced on state occasions. These were immediately followed, as the Bishop himself describes

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the scene[1], by "infantry, cavalry, field-pieces, and all the wild dissonance of native music." Then came the Rajah himself and his son, mounted on English horses, superbly caparisoned, and attended by his ministers and the nobles of his court. The whole concourse amounted to upwards of 2,000 persons, forming altogether an image of sovereignty, which is all that is now left to the Prince of Tanjore. His highness was duly received by the Bishop, together with Colonel Blackburne, the British resident at his highness's court. When he was dismounted, the Bishop conducted him to the sofa in his tent, and then seated himself on his highness's left hand. The visit was passed in conversation on various subjects, in the course of which the Rajah manifested more than ordinary acuteness and information. A detailed account of the interview has not been preserved by the Bishop; and the only particulars which can be recorded are, that in speaking of English history, with which the Rajah appeared to have considerable acquaintance, he termed it, in the true Hebrew phraseology, "the generations of the kings of England:" and he seemed to be fully aware of the immeasurable advantage possessed by all European above Asiatic history,

[1] In a letter to Archdeacon Watson.

in the superior attention of our writers to the accuracy of their dates.

The monument of Swartz, to which his highness had alluded, was seen by the Bishop at the Fort Church that same evening; and the mention of it immediately suggests the recollection of a most affecting incident at the death-bed of the departing missionary. He was lying apparently lifeless, when Gerickè, a worthy fellow-labourer in the service of the same Society, who imagined that the immortal spirit had actually taken its flight, began to chant over his remains a stanza of the favourite hymn, which used to soothe and elevate him in his life time. The verses were finished without a sign of sympathy or recognition from the still form before him: but when the last close was over, the voice, which was supposed to be hushed in death, took up the second stanza of the same hymn, completed it with distinct and articulate utterance, and then was heard no more! A Hebrew Psalter, which Swartz always carried with him when he travelled, was presented by Mr. Kohlhoff to the Bishop: and thus did he leave this solemn and interesting region, rich in recollections and memorials of one of the purest spirits that ever visited the earth.

In all the visits of the Bishop to places in the neighbourhood of Tanjore, he was most kindly and attentively accompanied by Colonel Black-

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burne and Captain Michael. The following extract from the letter, to which we have recently referred, conveys the feelings with which he afterwards looked back to his visit both at Tanjore and Trichinopoly, which latter place he reached on the 28th of February, 1816.

"The mission at Tanjore pleased me exceedingly. Mr. Kohlhoff is almost another Swartz. He attended me to Trichinopoly: and when I came away he pronounced over me a prayer for my future welfare. Looking at his labours, I could not but feel that the less was blessed of the greater. Mr. Pohlè at Trichinopoly does equal honour to our mission. He has been a very distinguished man in point of learning; but he cannot, in the course of nature, have long to live. I could wish that both of them could receive some mark of the Society's favour. I staid at Trichinopoly five days, during which I inspected the mission, consecrated a church, licensed the clergyman, confirmed, and delivered a charge to about 100 persons, mostly adults [1], and preached twice on the Sunday, which in this climate is no small exertion, and leaves one quite exhausted. And besides this,

[1] Of these many were officers of the rank of major, and downwards, as the Bishop states in a letter to Archdeacon Barnes, dated March 28, 1816.

I have made a proposal to several gentlemen to subscribe for a church library, to consist of orthodox divinity, &c., under the sanction of the Bishop, something on the plan of Dr. Bray: and I believe it will go on. If it does, and I can extend the plan to other places, I expect great good to result from it. The reading here at present is wretched. But I cannot be every where in such a diocese: and nothing is here to be accomplished without personal application and exertion. People are, in all cases, to be told what is right. Nothing *is established.*"

The number of native Protestant Christians at Trichinopoly is about 500. There are schools both for Tamil and English, and a large and handsome church built in 1766 by Swartz. A few Tamil free-schools were recommended to be established in the adjacent villages, open to Roman Catholic and heathen children; the whole to be placed under a resident missionary, who might relieve Mr. Pohlè, now far advanced in years. At this place the Bishop had an opportunity of witnessing a procession, with offerings, in honour of the swamy, or image, of the neighbouring pagoda. It is the custom in India, as in other idolatrous countries, to decorate the senseless object of their worship with jewels and robes, and other ornaments, often of enormous value; an instance of which he now witnessed at one of the pagodas of Seringham, where the Brahmins

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seemed to have a pride in displaying the splendour of their wooden divinity. In these particulars, the phænomena are usually much of the same kind, wherever a pure and spiritual worship has been lost or abandoned. Idolatry tends to reduce all its followers to a level, by converting them into silly or vicious children, and enslaving them to toys and trumpery. It is melancholy and appalling to observe this universal effect; and still more melancholy to see how powerfully the spirit of idolatry is always at work to convert every thing that approaches it to its own likeness. The following passage from a letter of the Bishop's, written shortly after this period, to Archdeacon Barnes, will shew that even the holy symbol of our salvation is often abused in India by this spirit of perversion :—

"As to the conversion of the natives, it is, I am convinced, quite out of the reach of our Society, or any other existing, while the present system continues. A sensible native told me, some time since, *that the English did not wish it;* and certainly there are many facts which countenance the opinion. I have seen the letter of the missionary Dubois; and I think it very interesting, so far as relates to the present state of the Romish Church in India. But as to such converts as are made by the Church of Rome, I question whether they might not as well retain the name with the ignorance of Pagans. I have

seen, in small buildings, which I supposed at fifty yards distance, to be swamy-houses [1], the cross blackened and oiled like a swamy, and placed at the far end of a deep niche, with lamps on each side it. The natives call it the *Christian's swamy:* and they are right, provided the persons who set up such things can be called Christians. In the country through which I have travelled these things abound."

It is well known that the Romish missionaries found this tendency to heathenize the Gospel so strong, that they ceased to meet it with that uncompromising resistance which becomes the servants of the only true God: and to their want of simplicity and firmness in this matter, may, in a great measure, be ascribed such spectacles as the above.

In the course of his journey the Bishop continued his correspondence with his friend Mr. Ward; as will appear by the following rapid but interesting sketch of his proceedings:—

Forty-five miles N. of Palamcotta,
March 13, 1816.

My dear Friend,

I am sitting in my tent, barely 100 miles from Cape Comorin! My little camp occupies

[1] Small Hindoo idol-temples. The word *Swamy* signifies *Lord*, and this name is applied to idols, because an idol is worshipped as a god.

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a rising ground on the north side of the Satoor, a considerable river in the rainy season; but now very nearly dry: to the north are two small pagodas, and to the south, just across the river, a mosque: in the distance westward, about forty miles off, are the vast ghauts, which seem almost close upon us: we are to pass them at the southern extremity near the Cape, by what is called the Arambooly gate, the entrance into Travancore. My plan is still to embark at Cochin, where a ship of 600 tons will be waiting to receive me; and, as the season is so far advanced, I fear that I shall hardly be able to do much among the Syrian Christians, but must take them on my return from Bombay. It is altogether a vast undertaking; but I trust that Providence will carry me through it. We are by this time pretty well reconciled to our mode of life: we rise at four and are in our palanquins before five, so as to reach the breakfast tent by half-past seven: in the morning I read Syriac, &c. or attend to business as well as I can with the thermometer at 96°. Our dinner hour is four, and at half-past five we saunter out to look at the scene around us; and at eight we retire: and the next morning as before. The country through which we have passed, has been generally uninteresting, perhaps five-sixths of it lying uncultivated, and displaying no features whatever of

public spirit or improvement; the English in the East are mere collectors of revenue. But I must not enter into this subject; it would carry me too far. Notwithstanding the cheerless aspect of the country, my journey has been very interesting: I have seen a great deal and have learnt something, especially of what is most interesting to me, and that is the state of Christianity. All the native Christianity of India lies in the district through which I have passed; I mean Protestant Christianity, which alone deserves the name; for, as to the rest, it is little more than exchanging one idol for another. The mission of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge does us honour as Christians. I have inspected the state of the mission minutely, and I have conversed with several of its native members, not themselves converts, but the sons of converts: they are in knowledge and manners as much superior to their pagan neighbours as an Englishman well educated is to a peasant; and yet I cannot hear of more than three native Christians of any sort who are employed under government; it would not be popular among the heathen! At Madras they actually petitioned me to recommend them as door keepers in the churches, instead of Mussulmen and Hindoos. At Tanjore, I visited the Rajah, a most accomplished gentleman. The next day he returned my call, omitting nothing

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in point of form to indicate his respect: we had a procession of infantry, cavalry, field pieces, state elephants, music, and a crowd of followers to the amount of 2 or 3,000; it was quite an eastern romance.

At Trichinopoly, where I staid five days, I consecrated a church, confirmed 105 persons, preached twice, and planned a library for the use of the station. I am endeavouring to introduce a taste for serious and useful reading, which is but little known in this country; I know not whether I shall succeed; but the reception, which I met with at Trichinopoly, though it has every where been very gratifying, pointed it out as an excellent place for the commencement of my plan.—God bless you,

My dearest friend,

T. F. Calcutta.

By the 22d of March the Bishop had reached Palamcotta; for on that day is dated the letter to Archdeacon Watson, of which such ample use has already been made. Its interest, however, is not yet exhausted, as will abundantly appear by the following additional extracts:—

"You will observe that I date from Palamcotta, the capital of Tinnevelly, in the south of India. Cape Comorin, its southern extremity,—(or, rather the immense mountain which though twenty miles from the sea is the mariner's land

mark, and is falsely called the Cape),— raises its lofty projecting head full in view from the window at which I am now writing, at the distance of only forty miles. In a few days I am to pass very near it, on my way to Travancore; and at Cochin, (whither, as the papers inform me, a ship has sailed from Bombay to convey the Bishop to that presidency,) I am once more to commit myself to the ocean.

"I have in the course of my journey met with hardly any thing more interesting than the scene of yesterday evening. I was encamped a few miles from this place, (for we are dwellers in tents, and frequently do not see any thing better than a few native huts for many days together,) when, after rising from dinner, I was informed that several persons were in waiting to pay their respects. I went out, and received, as is usual at every stage, the compliments of the daroga, a sort of chief constable of the hundred, with all his followers, who presented fruit, &c. When I had dismissed these, another party came up, for whom I was not so well prepared. It was a deputation of thirty or forty Brahmins, from the Tinnevelly pagodas, who also came to pay their respects to the *Bishop*, and to represent that the government allowed them so little out of the produce of their lands, that they and their religion were in danger of being starved; and they looked to me, very *naturally* to be sure, to inter-

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fere in their behalf! To understand this, you must be told, that the government are here a sort of lay-impropriators. They take the pagoda estates into their own hands, and grant out of the proceeds what they think reasonable for the performance of the duty, and the expense of the ceremonies; and, in this instance, the Brahmins say it is not enough. The question is entirely out of my cognizance; but the Company's servants very generally assure me that the allowances of government for such purposes are *extremely liberal.* But the delightful part was yet to come. I have with me a writer, David, who joined me at Tanjore, (the son of Sattianaden [1], whose sermon you have at the Society,) and he informed me that the party who stood aloof were Christians who came from Palamcotta, to welcome me, and to receive my blessing. I went forward to meet them. They were headed by their native priest and my man David. They were about thirty; and they formed the most remote congregation under Mr. Kohlhoff's care. The priest, a very interesting man, whose countenance, if I recollect rightly, resembles the head of St. Cyprian in Cave's Lives, (but the book is at Calcutta, 1200 miles off,) and has almost the darkest complexion I have seen, addressed me on behalf of his people; and, in reply, I gave

[1] See the abstract of the East India Missions, p. 323, &c.

them a suitable exhortation, which David interpreted with great energy, and they received it with every mark of thankfulness. They then opened their Tamul prayer-books, and sung a Psalm of thanksgiving to a tune which, I dare say, is used at Hackney, quite correctly, and in good time and melody. The Brahmins witnessed the scene, and both deputations quitted the camp together [1]."

It surely is not easy to imagine a more impressive or affecting spectacle than this *little flock* of Christian worshippers, in a remote and idolatrous region, singing one of the songs of Zion in that strange land, in the presence of the first Protestant Bishop that had been ever seen there, while the priests of a corrupt superstition stood by, and were looking on. It was a sight from which genius and piety combined might surely form an admirable and most interesting picture.

The native Christians in the Tinnevelly districts, are very highly spoken of for their orderly conduct; they have several churches and villages under the care of native priests; they are all Protestants, and are much attached to the English ritual. Their churches are in general built of unburnt brick and covered with Palmyra leaves. The Rev. Mr. Hough in reporting subsequently on these missions, says, "If the Society for

[1] Letter to Archdeacon Watson, dated March 22, 1816.

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Promoting Christian Knowledge had no other fruit of their cares in India to produce, they might point triumphantly to these villages, in proof that their labour has not been in vain."

At Palamcotta the Bishop found a school of forty-one children, and a mission church, raised chiefly by the pious munificence of a Brahmin lady, a convert of the venerable Swartz. Service was performed here every Sunday morning in Malabar, either by the native priest, or the catechist. To the English families the duties of religious worship were performed by a military officer, who reads to the families of the settlement the service in English, followed by a sermon. On the 27th the Bishop reached Arambooly Pass, and found his tent pitched on the bottom of what once was a tank, but then dry, and surrounded by mountains of stupendous and rugged grandeur. On this spot he received a deputation of Christians, lately under the charge of Mr. Ringeltaube, of the London Missionary Society, in number about 800, and much inferior in demeanour and appearance to the native Christians of Tanjore and Tinnevelly. These were followed by a numerous deputation, consisting of all the principal men from no less than twelve neighbouring villages, who assembled to offer their respects, and to gratify their curiosity. Their departure left the Bishop at liberty to survey the military works, for which this place is

remarkable, and which, though now in ruins, are still objects of astonishment. In 1809, though manned by 30,000 soldiers, they were forced by a body of only 4,000 sepoys, who owed their success to the very simple stratagem of sending a dozen men to the summit of a rock which commands the defile below, with orders to sound a trumpet as soon as they had reached that elevation. The besieged, on hearing this signal above them, imagined that an overpowering force was ready to pour down upon their rear; and were seized with such a panic that they instantly took to flight, and thus abandoned a post which a little firmness might probably have defended against all human assault.

After passing through a country rich in all the pomp and prodigality of Asiatic landscape, he encamped, on the 3rd of April, in view of the sea. He was here attended by the native judges and Christians; and of course, did not fail to visit their church. In front of that edifice he found a lofty cross, which is approached by an ascent of steps: within, he perceived still more evident indications of Romish communion, namely, the main altar with its crucifix, and lights burning, two smaller altars with crosses, and an *Ecce Homo* in tapestry, the wall covered with inscriptions in Malabar, which, he was informed, contained a hagiology, or brief history of the saints, with the dates of their respective deaths.

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On enquiry too, he found that on Good Friday service was always performed there, and that on some other occasions the people resorted to it in solemn procession. At the Bishop's desire the Kasheesa, or Presbyter, who, with other persons, was in attendance, produced their Syriac books, the whole of which were liturgical, and one of them contained the office of the mass. The natives appeared to be a little disturbed by all this inquisition; but were speedily pacified when they found that their visitor was the common friend of all who called themselves Christians in India, and they heartily commended themselves to his blessing and protection.

On the 6th of April the Bishop reached Quilon, where he learned some particulars respecting the Syrian Christians, which mournfully confirmed all he had heard of their miserable state of depression and disunion. His more immediate attention, however, was, at this time, directed to the English congregation, who were under a chaplain from the presidency of Madras; and he did not quit the spot without urgently requesting that arrangements might be made for securing the attendance of all the soldiers at the station at Divine service every Sunday: a compliance with this injunction was readily promised by the commanding officer. He carried away with him one melancholy, and somewhat humiliating reflection, that the poor fishermen of the

Syrian community of this place, had the zeal to provide themselves with a church, while the resident English were without a consecrated edifice, and were compelled to convert their public apartments into a place of worship. CHAP. VII. 1816.

On the 11th the Bishop reached Balghatty, the seat of the British residency in Travancore, then under the charge of Captain Blacker. Cochin, which is separated from Balghatty by a narrow inlet of the sea, proved to be in a condition in all respects sufficiently miserable, some of the principal edifices neglected and falling into decay,—the Dutch church shut up for want of a minister,—the school in the fort destroyed,—the children left unbaptized,—the sick unassisted, and without the last consolatory offices,—and a total apathy among the inhabitants respecting education or religion! Such had been the state of this residency for nearly fifteen years, during which period it had been in possession of the French, to whom it had been given up in 1803, conformably to the treaty of Amiens. From what the Bishop was thus able to learn, it would appear that the condition of the Syrian Christians was, in some respects, not much more satisfactory. He deferred visiting them until his return from Bombay, which he was anxious to reach before the setting in of the S.W. monsoon; he learned, however, that at a neighbouring place called Tripoontorah, the primitive and the

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Romish Syrians had their separate services in the same church! The Jewish quarter of the town, which was visited by the Bishop, presented an aspect of far greater comfort and prosperity. The streets, as in most Asiatic towns, were narrow, but the houses were neat, and at that time generally illuminated, in celebration of the passover. Some part of the religious services, both of the black and the white Jews, he had an opportunity of witnessing, as well as of inspecting their books, which were preserved in boxes adorned with crowns of gold, with jewels suspended from them, the gifts of various rajahs and other munificent benefactors. He likewise was admitted into the house of one of the opulent inhabitants, and saw the paschal supper set out in readiness, and covered with a cloth bearing an Hebrew inscription from Exodus, xii. 42., which commands *that night of the Lord* to be solemnly and perpetually *observed of all the children of Israel in their generations.*

On the day following the Bishop received a visit from the Syrian prelate. It was saddening to hear him speak of the desolate condition of his churches, and to solicit on their behalf the friendly offices of the English Bishop. He was attended by several of his clergy, bringing with them a small number of Syrian books, and among them a copy of Schaaf's Syriac Testament, which was in use in all his congregations. Of the Phi-

loxenian version, he seemed to know nothing. Bishop Middleton presented him with a copy of White's edition, which he had brought for this express purpose, together with an inscription in Syriac, importing that it was presented to Mar Dionysius by Mar Thomas, the first Bishop of Calcutta, on his primary visitation at Cochin. A volume was then produced containing a portion of the Liturgy used in the Syro-Romish Church, but not in the congregations exclusively and purely Syrian. In their ritual, he stated, there were both Nestorian and Jacobite prayers, the latter of which are used. He acknowledged seven sacraments; and remarked that their usual practice was to baptize infants on the eighth day. One indication of this Church's departure from primitive simplicity might be observed in the somewhat gaudy costume, and appointments displayed by this ecclesiastic on great occasions. He appeared on this day in a tunic of white satin, over which was worn a mantle of green velvet. His mitre was of crimson likewise, and richly ornamented with gold. His crosier was borne by one of his attendants, while another carried a cross of jewels.

Before the Bishop left Cochin, the sacrament was administered to forty persons by Archdeacon Loring; and it appears that this holy rite had not been celebrated at that place for twenty years before! Such are the instances of spiritual

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destitution which were perpetually occurring among the European inhabitants in India. The little flock is scattered into remote corners of that vast moral wilderness, where no pastoral care is likely to reach them. No wonder, then, if multitudes of them wander away, and, to all human judgment, are lost for ever to the flock of Christ. We may readily conceive the oppression of mind with which a man like Bishop Middleton would reflect upon such incidents as these. He would sometimes feel that to administer a diocese like this, is something like an attempt to enchain the waters, or to pursue the east wind! But, doubtless, his better principles were constantly in readiness to aid him against these incursions of despondency; and he would then recollect, that he is the best servant of his Saviour who is content to *hope against hope*, and to work in the face of difficulties which seem to laugh at all human energy. He well knew that "the last attainment of a zealously good man is to be as diminutive an agent as God pleases, and as unsuccessful an one[1];" and that he who would do good, must often be content to be as *the voice of one crying in the wilderness.*

On the 22nd the Bishop reached Cananore by sea, (having the day before parted from Archdeacon Loring who went on shore on his

[1] Foster's Essays.

return to Calcutta by way of Madras.) At this place he landed solely for the purpose of licensing the church. From this time till his arrival at Bombay on the 14th of May, 1816, he did not leave the vessel. This interval of leisure he diligently employed in improving his knowlege of the Syriac, and he never passed a day without reading a portion of the New Testament in that language.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Bishop arrives at Bombay—His reception—Interview with an Armenian bishop—District committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Education Society—Consecration of St. Thomas's Church—History of this Building—Visitation of the Clergy—Confirmation—Visit to the cave of Elephanta—Mr. Erskine—Letter to Madras Government—Excursion to Salsette—The Bishop leaves Bombay—Visits Goa—Confirmation at Cananore—Lands at Cochin—Visits the Jews at Mattancherry.

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When the ship entered the beautiful harbour of Bombay, not only did the archdeacon and clergy immediately wait on his lordship on board, but one of the government's aides-de-camp was despatched to welcome his arrival, and to offer him apartments at the government-house, should he prefer it to any other residence. Dr. Middleton was deeply sensible of this courtesy, which, however, he deemed it best to decline. He conceived that it would be more becoming for him to occupy the house which had been expressly provided for him by order of the supreme government; and, further, that he would feel himself more at liberty in a dwelling of his own, than in a residence of

public and official resort. On his landing he was received by the salute from the batteries which was due to his rank; and the whole of the military staff was assembled in attendance, under General Cooke, at the pier-head. He was then conducted to the government-house, where the governor, the Right Honourable Sir Evan Nepean, Bart., Sir Miles Nightingale, K.C.B., the commander-in-chief, and all the members of the council were assembled to give him honourable reception.

The first circumstance of any interest which occurred after his arrival was an interview with an Armenian bishop. This prelate was one of those who are frequently sent out by the patriarch at Echmiatzin, to visit the congregations in India, and to collect alms for the support of the mother church, which is represented to suffer incessantly from the oppression of their Mussulman rulers. In the course of this conference, the Armenian affirmed that the history of his church might be traced up to the middle of the fourth century, since which period it has undergone no change. He said that there were a multitude of manuscripts in the Armenian language, relating chiefly to history, and the lives of saints, not wholly excluding poetical composition. But his chief anxiety was to impress on the Bishop of Calcutta, the venerable antiquity of the Armenian tongue,

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which, like his brethren at Madras, he maintained to be the original language of Adam, and of Noah and his family at the dispersion of Babel. As a proof of this, he produced the name of *Eve*, as signifying in Armenian, and in Armenian *only*, the *mother of all*.

It had long been the anxious wish of Bishop Middleton to form at Bombay a district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; but the more urgent claims of the Bombay Education Society, then recently established, had rendered it prudent to defer the attempt for a time. The presence of the Bishop himself afforded a favourable opportunity for the accomplishment of this purpose. Such persons as were favourable to it, were assembled on the 8th of June at the Bishop's house: on which occasion his lordship, with great clearness, and conspicuous ability, explained both the general objects of the Society, and its more particular views with regard to India. He said that he was distinctly aware that a design, involving the extension of the Gospel in the East, might possibly be regarded with some degree of jealousy and apprehension. He trusted, however, that the public confidence would be secured in favour of this society, by the assurance, that its primary and more immediate object, would be the promotion of Christian knowledge among those who already professed the Christian religion, and

were members of our own Church. His lordship then detailed the proceedings of the Society at home, both in the department of its religious publications, and of its assistance to parochial schools. In alluding to its connection and co-operation with the missions of Southern India, he communicated some brief and interesting particulars of his late visit to them; and he pledged himself that, whatever might be the measures adopted with a view to the diffusion of Christianity among the natives, they would be under the guidance of the strictest sobriety and caution. In this presidency, however, his views for the present, he said, were limited to a cheap and ready supply of the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and the other religious publications of the Society, to our own countrymen and their descendants. It was well known that Bibles in a cheap form were in great request, and prayer-books exceedingly scarce; elementary books, such as he could recommend, on the catechism, the offices of the Church, public and private devotion, and religious duties, were not commonly met with; and, lastly, approved books for the use of schools were in very general demand. These would now be supplied for the archdeaconry of Bombay, through the means of the district committee, which he was now desirous to establish, on the same footing as at Calcutta and Madras. The resolutions were then read and passed;

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directions were given for transmitting them to the chief persons at the out-stations, and the individuals then present pledged themselves to take such steps as should be judged most likely to give effect to the views of the Bishop. At Calcutta and Madras, the fear of agitation among the natives, had deprived the Society of the support of several individuals eminent in rank and station; but in Bombay, among the subscribers who enrolled their names, were the governor, the members of council, the superintendent of marine, and many other persons of distinguished influence. In a short time, a sum exceeding 200*l.* in benefactions, and 150*l.* in annual subscriptions, was contributed; and the Bishop, before he had left Bombay, had the gratification of knowing that a large portion of these funds (200*l.*) were actually in a course of remittance to the Society in London for the purchase of their publications. Nor were the committee remiss in early attention to the wants of the European soldiers, regimental schools, and the British seamen frequenting the port, or in giving effect to the suggestions of the Bishop for advancing the honour, and extending the consolations of the Gospel, among the numerous Europeans who are often exposed in India to a state of such dangerous abandonment.

By this measure the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was happily brought into

connection with each of the East Indian archdeaconries. The pledge of co-operation, which the Bishop had publicly and solemnly given, on leaving his native country, was thus nobly redeemed; and a most inestimable service rendered to the clergy of his diocese, by the supply of effectual assistance to their ministerial labours. The contributions to the Society from India, including that from Bombay, now amounted to 1,060*l.*, unquestionably a noble remittance, in so short a time, from that remote region; although the zeal of the Bishop led him to apprehend that it might not fully answer the expectations of his friends at home. "Such, however," he writes, "as our contribution is, may God bless it to the best of purposes."

The institution of the Bombay Education Society has already been noticed. An establishment of this nature could not fail to recommend itself to Bishop Middleton. It has been stated that he kindly and readily accepted the office of patron; and he now most actively and zealously sustained that office, by regularly attending at the meetings of the managing committee, and by giving them the aid of his judicious suggestions, and of his powerful influence. The great object of this Society was to provide religious education for the children of European soldiers, too frequently the victims both of indigence and profligacy. The need of such an establishment

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was fearfully indicated by the circumstance, that out of forty-five boys admitted into the school during the first year, no less than eleven, though the children of British parents, had never been baptized, and that some had been found wandering through the streets, dependent on the charity of benevolent heathens! "Considering it merely in the light of what Protestant parents and a Protestant community owe to the children who have mutual claims on their justice and country, they (the Directors of the Society[1]) had seen much to regret in many instances; and, particularly, on the death or ill conduct of parents, children have disappeared altogether from Christian society, and have become associated with the lower orders of Mussulmen or Hindoos, losing entirely the religion of their fathers,—a circumstance but little calculated to impress the natives with the sincerity of the English in their religious belief!" It will easily be imagined that the Bishop was warmly interested for an association which promised so much benefit to the cause of humanity and religion, and that he learned with cordial satisfaction the willing and liberal support which had been extended to it by the governor in council. Application had already been made to the National Society in England for a master and a mistress; and during the

[1] In the first report of the Bombay Education Society.

Bishop's residence in Bombay a reply was received from the secretary, Dr. Walmsley, stating "the feeling of lively gratification excited by the formation of the Bombay Society, and assuring its members that every assistance, which the National Society could contribute towards the success of its exertions, would be most cheerfully afforded.

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On the 7th of July the Bishop consecrated the church, which was dedicated to St. Thomas, in honour of the blessed Apostle, who is believed to have made the East the scene of his labours and sufferings in the cause of the Gospel. The sermon was preached by Archdeacon Barnes. The history of this edifice is somewhat remarkable. The town and island of Bombay originally belonged to the Portuguese, and was by them made over to the English crown, in 1662, as a portion of the dowry of Catherine of Portugal, the wife of Charles II. In the year 1714, the Rev. Richard Cobbe, A.M. was appointed, by the East India Company, chaplain to this settlement; and having "considered," he says, in an appendix printed with his sermon, "the inconvenience, and unsuitableness withal, of performing our *public* devotions in so *private* a manner as we did in this fort, having only two upper rooms beat into one, which served us for a chapel, and being locked up in the castle during divine

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service, I ventured to propose the building of a church for God's honour and service, according to the use of the Church of England; that all the island might see we had some religion among us, and that the heathens might in time be brought over as converts to our profession." He accordingly recommended this good work in public sermon, and by his zeal and influence at length succeeded in obtaining contributions to the amount of 5,000*l.* towards which the East India Company subscribed 1,000*l.*; and with this sum, a plain, spacious, and substantial church was erected, 170 feet in length, and 70 feet broad: "large enough," he adds, "for a cathedral." Application was made to the Bishop of London for permission to consecrate it; but the reply was, that this could not be done without the presence of a Bishop. On Christmas-day, 1718, however, the church was open for divine service, "dressed," says Mr. Cobbe, "with palm branches and plantain trees, the pillars adorned with wreaths of greens, and the double crosses over the arches looked like so many stars in the firmament. A whole crowd of black people stood round about, (Rammagee and all his caste), who were so well pleased with the decency and regularity of our way of worship, that they stood it out the whole service. Sermon ended, the governor, council, and ladies repaired to the vestry, where,

having drank success to the new church in a glass of *sack*, the whole town returned to the governor's lodgings, where was a splendid entertainment, wine, and music, and abundance of good cheer. Thus," he continues, "was the ceremony of opening Bombay Church, with all public demonstrations of joy, with that decency and good order which was suitable to the solemnity." Its dedication to the service of God was happily completed, and made irrevocable, by Bishop Middleton, at an interval of nearly 100 years from its original construction.

A few days after this the Bishop also consecrated the cemetery, a large spot of ground, about a mile and a half from the town, near the sea-shore, and surrounded with a deep plantation of cocoa-nut trees. The enclosure round the church had been in a few instances used for interment, and some persons of rank had also been buried within the walls of the church. But the Bishop wished to discourage such a practice, conceiving it to be inconvenient, if not dangerous, in a tropical climate, to deposit the dead within the precincts where the living were to assemble for the celebration of divine service. Soon after, the Bishop held a visitation of the clergy of this archdeaconry; and confirmed also several young persons, whom he addressed in his usual very impressive manner.

During his abode at Bombay, Bishop Middleton

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did not omit to visit the Island of Elephanta, for the purpose of examining its celebrated cave temple. His excursion was rendered peculiarly agreeable by the kindness of Sir E. Nepean, who accommodated him with the use of the governor's yacht. He had the good fortune to obtain MS. notices[1] respecting this gigantic monument of superstition from William Erskine, Esq. a gentleman to whose intelligence and research the Bishop was indebted for much valuable information relative to eastern literature, and whose amiable and unassuming deportment he found extremely engaging. It would be scarcely proper to interrupt our narrative by an elaborate description of this prodigious excavation, which has for ages been an object of curiosity and wonder. I cannot, however, refuse myself the pleasure of inserting the following passage from the papers of Mr. Erskine: "The entrance into this temple, which is entirely hewn out of a stone resembling porphyry, is by a spacious front supported by two massy pillars, and two pilasters, forming three openings, under a thick and steep rock, overhung by brushwood and wild shrubs. The long ranges of columns, which appear closing in perspective on every side,—the flat roof of solid rock, that seems to be prevented from falling only by the massy pillars, whose capitals are (to

[1] Since printed in the Bombay Literary Transactions.

appearance) pressed down and flattened by the weight,—the obscurity of the interior of the temple, which is dimly lighted only by the entrance,—and the gloomy appearance of the gigantic figures ranged along the walls, and hewn, like the whole temple, out of the living rock, joined to the strange uncertainty that hangs over the history of the place,—carry the mind back to distant periods, and impress it with that kind of uncertain religious awe, with which the grander works of ages of darkness are generally contemplated." It is scarcely necessary to add, that this magnificent fabric (if such it may be called,) has ceased to be used as a place of worship ever since the Portuguese seized Bombay, about 300 years ago, and probably for a long time before.

An extract is here inserted from a letter of the Bishop's to Mr. Ward, which, though brief, furnishes, like all his correspondence with that gentleman, an agreeable relief from the tenor of his mere official history.

Bombay, June 12, 1816.

My dear Friend,

About a month has elapsed since I reached this place, after a month's voyage from Cochin. I came round by Cape Comorin, and through the whole of Travancore. I staid long enough at Cochin to see the Syrian bishop, and to make him a present of a Syriac version of the New

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Testament, which he had never seen, and also to make arrangements against my return in the autumn, when I hope to collect some little information. It is impossible, within the short compass of a letter, to enter into a detail of what I have seen or done within these last four months; but I believe that I have acquired more knowledge of the actual state of this country, than I could have done in England in the course of my life, and that I have laid up materials sufficient to work upon while I remain in India. The harbour of this place is most beautiful: there are several islands in it; among others Elephanta, which I have visited; and at the back of all, the mountains on the Mahratta coast; the town stands on a long narrow tongue of land running out into the sea. We have at present here the China Indiamen, and many other ships, and the whole forms a splendid scene. In the evening Mrs. Middleton and myself usually walk on the sea-shore, where the disciples of Zoroaster are chanting hymns and prostrating themselves to the setting sun. A few mornings since I had a visit from their chief priest, a man of great learning in the Oriental way, with whom I had a long disquisition on the ancient languages of Persia. I have also had a visit from an Armenian archbishop, who has just arrived here from the furthest parts of Mesopotamia. He says that he heard at Bagdad of my expected arrival at

Bombay, and he has something to communicate, in which he shall solicit my assistance. I suppose it is some plan for enabling his Church to print their books of devotion, from what I could collect; the few printed books they have at present come from Constantinople and Venice.

I am quite surprised at the little I get through, though I am always at work, and as full of projects as ever: a languid feeling reduces the value of time to about a third. Upon the whole I have reason to be very thankful: as to my dear wife, the companion in all my travels, the depositary of all which I think, and the transcriber of almost every thing I write, her faculties of travelling, and listening, and transcribing, are at least as good as I ever knew them.

Yours ever affectionately,

T. F. Calcutta.

The setting in of the rainy season early in June, and the unsettled state of the British relations with the Mahratta powers in the Deccan, combined to prevent an excursion into the interior of the country, which, under more favourable circumstances, the Bishop would have been desirous to accomplish. The various concerns of his diocese, however, afforded him ample occupation in the interval. One of the matters which here engaged his attention, was the arrangement, with the concurrence of the Bom-

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bay government, of the several distinct duties of the clergy whom he recommended to be stationed at the presidency or in its neighbourhood. By the desire of the governor, he also framed a table for the regulation of the surplice fees; and he did not fail to urge on the proper authorities, an increase in the number of chaplains, suggesting, at the same time, where he thought they should be stationed, and where decent places for divine service should be provided. The following letter, written at this time to the government of Madras, will also exhibit his vigilant attention to other parts of his extensive diocese, and was doubtless the result of his anxious observation during his late tour through the southern provinces.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL, MADRAS.

Bombay, June 28, 1816.

Right Honourable Sir,

I conceive it to be my duty to represent to the government of Fort St. George, that a church is much wanted at Quilon, as being a considerable military station, and the presidence of the resident in Travancore. The clergyman has, for some time past, performed divine service in a room, which had, till then, been the supper-room of the assembly-house; but which, since it has been wanted by the government

for the performance of divine service, the inhabitants have, very properly, abstained from using for the purpose to which it was originally destined. It is still, however, used for other purposes besides that for which it is wanted on the Lord's day; and it is, in every other point of view, a place which I could not license as a chapel. I would, therefore, submit to the government the expediency of ordering a plan for a church to be erected at Quilon, with as little delay as possible.

I wish further to avail myself of the present opportunity of suggesting to the government of Fort St. George, the propriety of giving to the churches of an established religion the external appearance which usually belongs to them. The church at Trichinopoly has neither steeple nor cupola, nor, in any respect, the visible character of a church of the Church of England; but is merely, in its external form, a room with a flat roof: and I would submit to the government, that it is desirable to order some such addition, to give it the appearance of a church, as the engineer may find to be compatible with the present state of the building.

The church at Cananore is, in some respects, less exceptionable than that at Trichinopoly, having a large porch used as a vestry, and the same kind of angular roof which is commonly seen in England. But it has neither steeple

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nor cupola: and it stands in the midst of an open plain, without any wall or other enclosure whatever. The edifice in itself is an extremely good one; and I would suggest the propriety of adding to it, at least, a cupola, sufficiently large to contain a bell, and of enclosing a space of ground immediately around it. I cannot conclude the present application without suggesting, that the government will in future be pleased to direct that the plan of any intended church be sent to the archdeacon, to be forwarded to the Bishop, in order that all irregularities in the construction may be avoided, and that such suggestions may be offered as may tend to make our places of worship not incongruous with the feelings and association of those, for whose use they are designed, and at once distinguishable by all who see them, as temples dedicated to the faith professed by the sovereign of the country.

I have the honour to be,
Right Honourable Sir,
With great respect,
Your most obedient and faithful servant,
T. F. Calcutta.

In the month of August, together with Mrs. Middleton, he devoted a few days of recreation to a tour in the island of Salsette, separated from

Bombay and the adjoining continent by a narrow inlet, which gratified him with scenery of varied grandeur and beauty, including views of the harbour and sea-coast, and of the towering mountains of the Mahratta territory. This island is computed to contain aoout 45,000 persons, of whom perhaps about 8,000 are Christians, attached to the Romish Church, and having several decent places of worship, the duty of which are performed by native priests, subject, either to the archbishop of Goa, or to the vicar apostolic, residing in Bombay. Of these Christians, however, an unfavourable account was given to Bishop Middleton, by an official gentleman of great experience, who stated, at a meeting of the Bombay district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, that, " though they are enrolled as Christians, and attend divine worship at the Portuguese churches, they are yet wedded to all the absurd ceremonies of the Hindoo mythology, of which they are particularly observant on births, deaths, and marriages. At the very time that they are in the habit of attending a Christian sanctuary, and professedly acknowledging Christianity, they retain in their houses various implements of Hindoo idolatry, and enter indiscriminately into all the pernicious usages of a deplorable superstition. Having finished his immediate business at Bombay, and the state of the monsoon being now

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more favourable, the Bishop left Bombay on the 17th of September, after an abode which must always have been recollected by him with singular delight. He lived there on the most friendly terms with his clergy, who regularly dined at his table every alternate Thursday. He preached thirteen times to numerous and attentive congregations. His liberal hospitality, and his incessant devotion of himself to his Episcopal duties, secured him the attachment and veneration of his people: and, to crown all, he had the gratification of finding his wishes and designs for the promotion of religion, effectually supported by the personal example and the powerful influence of the governor, Sir Evan Nepean, whose eminent worth he mentions, in his correspondence, in language of the warmest esteem and admiration. He embarked in the midst of the customary honours, accompanied by Archdeacon Barnes, whom he invited to join him in a visit to the capital.

CHAPTER IX.

The Bishop's visit to Goa, and to the Jews of Cochin—Memoir of the Syrian Church in Malabar—Historical records of their origin and privileges—Discovered by the Portuguese in 1545—Intrigues and violence of the Romish agents—Zeal and duplicity of Alexis de Menezes—Proceedings of the Synod of Diamper in 1599—Usages and state of the Syrian Church, from La Croze—Its independence in part restored by the Dutch—Retirement of the Syrians to the hilly country—Churches on the coast left in possession of the Romish Church—Lamented loss of the Bishop's collection of notes and papers.

On the Bishop's departure from Bombay the government furnished him with one of their armed cruizers, a vessel of 13 guns; the commander of which was instructed to land the Bishop, on the voyage to Calcutta, on any part of the Malabar coast, and at Ceylon. On the 20th of September 1816, Bishop Middleton entered the harbour of Goa, and was honourably welcomed by the Viceroy Condè de Zazavedas; and occupied a house which had been provided for his reception through the kind assistance of Major Schuyler, at Bombay, who, for many years during the late war, resided as British envoy at Goa.

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Through the same friendly intervention, the Bishop and his party had every possible facility afforded them for visiting old Goa, with its numerous and splendid churches, and other religious buildings. What had been the Inquisition he did not see. His prudence and caution kept his lips sealed on that subject; and it was not till towards the end of his visit to the place, that one of the Augustine monks asked him whether he had been to the Inquisition? He deeply regretted that it was then too late to avail himself of the opportunity which this voluntary question seemed, by implication, to offer. It will be unnecessary to detain the reader with a description of a city so well known. It may, however, be proper to mention that Goa was originally taken from the Hindoo rajahs of Bijanagur by Albuquerque in 1510, and has ever since been the capital of the Portuguese in the East. The province of which it is the head, though extending only forty miles in length and twenty in breadth, is said to contain no less than 200 churches, 2000 ecclesiastics, and 200,000 inhabitants, who bear the name of Christians. Goa consists of two distinct cities: the viceroy and Portuguese families reside at New Goa, which is near the mouth of the river; the old city is about eight miles further up, and it is scarcely possible to imagine a spectacle more melancholy and oppressive than it now

presents. The magnificence of its sacred structures appears to be an object, as it were, of perpetual and bitter mockery, to the surrounding solitude. Deserted streets, altars coldly served by an ignorant and indolent priesthood, a population of monks and ecclesiastics, whose very servants have no residence among them, but come to them from the villages in the morning, and leave them at night, the lanes which lead from one church to another choaked up with weeds and rubbish;—such is the picture, at this day, of her who might once be almost called "*the lady of kingdoms*," the mistress of the east! All this desolation has been wrought, partly by the vicissitudes incident to all human works, political or commercial; partly by the extreme unhealthiness of the situation; and, in no inconsiderable degree, by the terrors of the Inquisition, which, among other pernicious consequences, had driven from the port the Jews and Arabs, who were its principal traders. At present it has no trade. Its revenues are insufficient to pay its expenses: it is absolutely a burden upon the mother country: it is, in short, a melancholy retreat of *doleful creatures*. And yet it admonishes us, even in its ruin, that the zeal of superstition is fervid and prodigal, to a degree that well may shame the apathy and the parsimony which often seem to paralyse the energies of a more enlightened faith!

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On the first of October, 1816, his lordship, landed once more at Cananore, chiefly for the purpose of holding a confirmation. The numbers to whom he had administered that rite, in the course of his visitation, amounted now to about 1000, including thirty-nine confirmed at this place. From the church he proceeded to visit and inspect the barracks, the hospital, and the school. So early as 1505 the Portuguese had a fort at Cananore; latterly it belonged to the Dutch, who purchased it from the Mahommedan sovereigns. On the 3rd he re-embarked, and on the 4th, about noon, he reached Cochin. The whole party were most hospitably received by Captain Blacker, the British resident, at his house at Balghatty. The Bishop, in company with archdeacon Barnes and Captain Blacker, early crossed over to Mattancherry, the white Jews' town, about a mile from Cochin, with a view to further enquiry respecting that singular people. The appearance of this place is very different from that of any Indian town. Its streets are regular, its houses are two stories high, have windows and doors in the European manner, and are so prodigally whitewashed as to produce an inconvenient and painful glare. The inhabitants came to the beach to receive the visitors, and to conduct them to the synagogue. Their countenances appeared extremely fair, compared with those of the other natives of

India, and bore strong marks of the Jewish physiognomy. Their synagogue is a plain square building, not differing materially in its arrangements for public worship and reading of the law, from those which are usual in Europe. Their history, according to their own account, is this: that they belong to the tribe of Benjamin, Judah, and half Manasseh, and that their forefathers left Saphanat (probably the same which Sepharad mentioned in Obadiah 20) after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; that they originally dwelt at Cranganore, from which they were driven by the Inquisition of Goa about 300 years since; and that soon after they were settled at Cochin, they assisted the Dutch against the Portuguese. With regard to the dispersion of their nation, one story current among them is, that the ten tribes are to this day beyond the river Sambattin, which is continually throwing up stones and earth to prevent their return; except on the Sabbath, on which day, as their law forbids them to stir, the miracle is suspended! They all believe that they shall be restored to the Holy Land in peace, in the year 1839, and that the temple is then to be rebuilt by the freemasons, with Solomon at their head. They are perfectly enraged at the mention of Jesus as the Messiah. They have a high veneration for the book of Job; and believe the house of Esau to be the Christians! *Shiloh* they

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interpret as the name of a city, and the prophecy which says, *his name shall be called Emmanuel,* they apply to Hezekiah. They read the whole psalter frequently in their houses; the ninety-first psalm every night. They follow the customs of the Portuguese Jews and have their books from Amsterdam. They, as well as the Black Jews, appear to be rapidly declining.

The next visit of the Bishop was to the synagogue of the black Jews, whose countenances exhibit very little of resemblance to their brethren, and they are said to have been the converts and household slaves of the white Jews. They themselves, indeed, claim the more ancient settlement of the two, but are unable to support the allegation by any decisive or satisfactory accounts. Of the Falashes, mentioned by Bruce, they had never heard. It could not be ascertained that they had any language, or the remains of any, which was not intelligible to their white brethren. He purchased of them a small Hebrew MS. containing a portion of the Pentateuch, and from the whites he received, as a present, an almanack, a Jewish ritual, and their service for the fast of the desolation of Jerusalem.

Cochin Fort was built by Albuquerque in 1503; in 1663 it was taken by the Dutch, who converted the cathedral into a warehouse. There are many Christians here, both of the Portuguese and Dutch congregations; the latter, who are

the most respectable of the inhabitants, had for some time been without an European pastor, and they presented a memorial to Bishop Middleton, soliciting to have an English chaplain settled among them, and offering their principal church for his use.

During one of his evening walks in this vicinity, the Bishop met with an instance of that retired and lonely religion, which often strikes Protestants so forcibly in Catholic countries, and which forms, perhaps, one of the most pleasing peculiarities of the Romish worship. Being by the water side, he came near to a small oratory, built with wood, and covered with cajan, (or the leaves of the palmyra tree), having a large cross at the further extremity, and lighted by three small lamps suspended from the roof. In this little chapel an aged and solitary worshipper was so deeply engaged in prayer, that he appeared insensible to the presence of strangers, and paid no attention to the Bishop or his attendants, until his devotions were finished. They then learned from him that this lowly house of prayer had been constructed by himself, together with four or five other native Christians, for the purposes of daily devotion; but that on the Sunday he regularly attended the service of the Church.

The principal object which the Bishop con-

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That the Gospel was preached by the Apostle St. Thomas to many of the Oriental nations, and among them to the Indians, is numbered by Fabricius among those traditions of the Church which, though not improbable, are still open to doubt[1]. The earliest authentic information we possess relative to the existence of Christianity in India is to be found in the subscriptions to the

[1] Fabricius, Lux Evangelii, p. 108, 109, c. v. Traditiones *Minus Certæ*.

council of Nice, among which appears the title of a bishop of Persia and of India[1]: and this is confirmed by a passage in Suidas, which states that the inhabitants of *interior* India, the Iberians, and the Armenians, were baptized, under Constantine the Great[2]. These historical fragments, however, convey to us no information respecting any particular Christian communities in these countries. The first writer who speaks of a Christian Church in the East is Cosmas Indopleustes, who lived in the sixth century, and who states expressly, and as an eye-witness, that there was, in his time, such a church in the island of Taprobanè (or Ceylon), and the interior of India, with its establishment of clergy: and that in the country of Malè and Callianè, there was a bishop who came from Persia, where he was ordained[3].

[1] Act. Synod. Nicen. pars ii. c. 28. Ἰωάννης Πέρσης, *τῆς ἐν* Περσίδι *πασῇ, καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ* Ἰνδίᾳ.

[2] Suid. in voce Ἀρμένιοι. Οἱ *ἐνδότεροι* Ἰνδοι, καὶ Ἴβηρες, καὶ Ἀρμένιοι, *ἐπὶ* Κωνσταντίνου Μεγάλου *ἐβαπτίσθησαν*.

[3] Ἐν *τῇ* Ταβροβάνῃ *νήσῳ ἐν τῇ ἐσωτέρᾳ* Ἰνδίᾳ, *ἔνθα τὸ* Ἰνδικὸν *πέλαγός ἐστι, καὶ* Ἐκκλησία Χριστιανῶν *ἐστιν ἐκεῖ καὶ κληρικοὶ, καὶ πιστοὶ, οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ περαιτέρω.* Ὁμοίως, *καὶ εἰς τὴν λεγομένην* ΜΑΛΕ, *ἔνθα τὸ πέπερι γίνεται.* Καὶ *ἐν τῇ* ΚΑΛΛΙΑΝΑ *δὲ τῇ καλουμένῃ καὶ* Ἐπίσκοπός *ἐστιν ἀπὸ* Περσίδος *χειροτονούμενος*. Cosm. Indopl. Topogr. Christ. p. 178, 179. Ed. Montfauc.

The names ΜΑΛΕ and ΚΑΛΛΙΑΝΑ, fix the locality beyond all reasonable doubt. Μαλὲ, or Malè, in the Malabar

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The Syro-Malabaric Christians, indeed, have themselves generally laid claim to apostolical antiquity. They affirm that St. Thomas, after having spread the Gospel in Arabia, arrived at Cranganore; and that, when he had established several churches in those regions, he passed over to the coast of Coromandel, and fixed himself at Meliapore, (the modern St. Thomè, about a league to the south of Madras); that having first converted the king and people of that country, he visited China; and on his return to Meliapore, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of the Brahmins. This most interesting tradition, however, which still survives among the Christians of Malabar, was rejected by Tille-

language, signifies *pepper*, from which product this region notoriously has its appellation. With regard to Καλλιάνα, it has been conjectured that it is identical either with Calicut, or Quilon, spelt also sometimes Coilan. But it is more probable that the Calliana of Cosmas is the ancient city of Calianapore, of which some ruins are said to be still in existence near the sea-coast, two days' journey to the north of Mangalore.—See Paulinus, India Orientalis Christiana, p. 14. Romæ, 1794.

It is, however, by no means impossible that Christianity may then have extended still farther north, to the district known at this day by the name of Callianee, or Calyani, "a strong hilly country extending along the sea-coast of the Aurungabad province, opposite to the island of Bombay, bounded on the east by the Western Ghauts, and situated between the 18th and 20th degrees of north latitude." Hamilton's Description of Hindostan, vol. ii. p. 150.

mont, and has, generally, been regarded by Protestant writers as apocryphal and legendary [1]. If we are to believe La Croze, or his authorities, these people had among them a very strange tale, which derives their descent from one Thomas Cana, a wealthy Armenian, who settled in their country in the sixth century; and which, of course, is wholly inconsistent with their pretensions to a higher antiquity. The same writer informs us, that when the Portuguese arrived, they were actually divided into two races, supposed to have been, respectively, the spurious and the legitimate posterity of their founder [2]. But whatever may be the doubts

[1] Those who are desirous of examining all that can be said in support of this tradition, must consult Paulinus, India Orient. Christ. p. 127—145.

[2] It is contended by Assemann, that this Thomas Cana was not an Armenian merchant, but a Nestorian bishop, who was dispatched to India, not in the sixth century, but about the year 800, by Timotheus the Nestorian patriarch. The worthy Maronite, indeed, seems to be sadly puzzled with the odd story of Thomas and his two wives, the one at Cranganore, the other at Angamala,—the one the parent of the nobility of the land, the other of the commonalty. It was an unheard of thing, he says, that even a Nestorian bishop should have two wives, together or successively: and (not knowing what else to make of this awkward and unseemly tradition), he concludes that it could be nothing more than a sort of allegory, signifying merely that Thomas had two churches to administer, namely,

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which hang over the remote history of these communities, it is certain that as early as the ninth century they had obtained many valuable privileges from the heathen princes of Travancore; and that, in process of time, they became sufficiently powerful to establish their independence, and to elect a sovereign of their own. At last, one of their own princes dying childless, they fell under the dominion of the King of Cochin, the adopted son of their deceased monarch, and in this condition they were found by the Portuguese when Vasco di Gama arrived in their country. But although they then acknowledged the supremacy of an idolatrous sovereign, to whom they rendered tribute, and furnished a contingent of military force, their spiritual governors still enjoyed a dignity and estimation but little inferior to royalty itself. Their vast diocese comprised numerous churches, and a large Christian population; and within its limits, none but criminal matters fell under the jurisdiction of the heathen tribunals. In all civil, as well as ecclesiastical causes, their bishop sat as pastor and judge,

that of Cranganore, and that of Angamala; and that the Christians of each diocese may be traced to him, not as their carnal, but their spiritual progenitor.—Assem. Biblioth. Orient. tom. iii. pars 2, p. 442.

with the archdeacon for his assessor; and any attempt to appeal from his decision was always visited with the severest chastisement. Their various other substantial and honourable privileges still remained unimpaired; and, if we may trust the accounts transmitted to us of their usages and pursuits, we shall be justified in the belief that in arts, and arms, and virtue, the Christians of Malabar decidedly excelled the pagan natives of Hindostan[1].

On the arrival of Vasco, these unsuspecting people, (who were then grievously sunk from their original prosperity, and were suffering heavy oppression from the neighbouring heathen princes), were anxious to place themselves under the protection of the Christian sovereign, his master. The profession of a common religion would have rendered them invaluable allies to the Portuguese adventurers. Nevertheless, it was not till about the year 1545, that the Europeans found leisure to attend to the concerns of their Asiatic brethren; and it was then unfortunately perceived that the Christians of Malabar were labouring under the accumulated guilt of heresy and schism! Their faith was chiefly, if not universally, Nestorian; and their discipline and government endured no

[1] See La Croze, p. 132—144, who professes to translate the words of the missionary Vincent Maria de Santa Catharina de Siena.

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dependence on the Church of Rome. On discovering these formidable corruptions, the Portuguese ecclesiastics instantly commenced the labour of reclaiming the wanderers. They encountered a stubborn and protracted resistance from the natives, ardently devoted as they were to the faith and worship of their fathers, and sternly resolute against all foreign usurpation. At last, after prelates and monks, aided by secular authority, had toiled nearly in vain, for a series of years, the ancient Church of Malabar was assailed by a course of violence and fraud, which cannot be contemplated without indignation and disgust. The first care of the Romish agents was to intercept all correspondence between these people and their Nestorian patriarch at Mosul: and, for this purpose, several of their bishops were successively seized, and dispatched to Lisbon or to Rome, or consigned to the dungeons of the Inquisition. The hitherto peaceful and united flock were henceforward torn to pieces by endless schisms, and, their usual consequence, mutual excommunication. The terrors of weak brethren, and the bad passions of false ones were called into pernicious action. Every artifice, in short, which the spirit of intrigue or fanaticism could suggest, was prodigally, and most unscrupulously, employed, to complete the work of oppression. The final accomplishment of the design was reserved for

the energy of Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, who devoted himself to his hateful task with zeal and intrepidity worthy of the best cause, and with faithlessness and duplicity suited only to the worst.

The projects of the archbishop were brought to their iniquitous consummation by the synod of Diamper, at which he himself presided, in the year 1599. As this assembly finally effected the reduction of the Indo-Syrian church under the dominion of Rome, it will be necessary to furnish a brief statement of its previous discipline and doctrine, as exhibited by La Croze from the representations of the Papal writers both Portuguese and Italian.

In the first place, then, it is indisputable that this Church had, for centuries, generally acknowledged what is called, though perhaps unjustly, the Nestorian duality of *persons* in the Saviour of the world: an error, probably, of no fatal malignity, since, like the heresiarch himself, the worshipper might unite, in his adoration, the persons, or the natures, which he separated in his creed. At what period it was that this tenet was introduced into India, cannot now be very precisely known. It is, however, certain, that for almost immemorial ages the Malabar Church had been governed by a succession of Syrian bishops, who received both their ordination and

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their mission from the Nestorian patriarch of Mosul [1].

To this heresy they added another, of at least equal enormity in the estimation of their reformers: they heard with abhorrence the title of Mother of God ascribed to the Blessed Virgin; and, when her image was presented to them, they exclaimed, with vehemence, "away with this abomination, we are Christians, and not idolaters!" No images, indeed, of any kind, had ever been endured in their churches. Crosses, however, were to be seen in and near all their places of worship, and had ever been regarded by them with the deepest religious reverence.

They *then* acknowledged only three sacraments, Baptism, Holy Orders, and the Eucharist. Auricular confession they held in detestation. Of purgatory they had never heard. The mystery

[1] But although the creed of this Church, in general, might be Nestorian, it is by no means certain that the opinions of the Jacobites had not, *partially*, insinuated themselves long previously to the arrival of the Portuguese. It is mentioned by Le Quien, (Oriens Christianus, Vol. ii. p. 1275), that, about the middle of the fourteenth century, the Malabar Christians desired that a metropolitan might be sent to them by the Jacobite patriarch of the Copts, at Alexandria, in order that the Christian law might be preserved from total extinction among them; and that the patriarch accordingly appointed a Syrian Jacobite, whom (strange as it may appear), he sent to the Nestorian Catholic of Mosul for ordination.

of the real presence was equally unknown to them [1]. With respect to baptism, their practice was somewhat lax and unsteady. They brought their children to the font, sometimes at the end of one month, sometimes at the age of ten years: and many professed the Gospel, and attended the communion, without ever having been baptized at all. They used no consecrated unguents in the celebration of any sacrament. Some vain ceremonies, however, their liturgies prescribed. In baptism, for instance, they rubbed the body of the infant with the oil of the cocoa, and attached something of sanctity to the practice, although it was performed without prayer or benediction.

[1] It is, nevertheless, asserted by Le Quien, that even *then* they acknowledged all the seven sacraments of the papists: and, further, in defiance of the undeniable fact, that they were ignorant of transubstantiation, he avers that they *must* have believed in it, because, at the synod of Diamper, there was no decree pronounced in condemnation or correction of any error of theirs respecting the sacrament of the Eucharist. Much in the same spirit of resolute perversion, he affirms, that it would be wrong to appeal to the decrees of that synod for the purpose of establishing the antiquity of the opinions of the Protestant reformers; because, truly, it is not to be imagined that the Portuguese divines were sufficiently conversant with the Chaldee or Syriac, to be confident of accurately reaching the sense of the books and sacred offices of the Malabar Christians.—Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, vol. ii. p. 1097—1098.

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Their sacred ministry embraced three principal orders, corresponding to those of the Western Church. They were governed, as we have already stated, by a bishop or metropolitan, sent to them by the Nestorian primate or Catholic. Their inferior clergy were known by the general name of Catanars, a term implying, in their language, a combination of priesthood and nobility. Of these, the first order corresponded to our presbyters. Under them were the deacons; a title which, however, seems to have been also applied to various inferior officers of the church. Besides these, they had their malpans, or doctors. The age of holy ordination was sometimes as early as seventeen. Their clergy were held by them in the highest respect and honour. There were few families of which some individual was not an ecclesiastic; and the dignity was, perhaps, the more generally coveted, because it was not supposed to exact any exclusion from secular offices or pursuits. Their priesthood were under no obligation to celibacy, or to abstinence from repeated marriage, on the death of their wives. It happened, not unfrequently, that a father, a son, and a grandson, were presbyters in the same church. The wives of the clergy had precedence, both in the church and in society; and were distinguished by wearing round their neck a cross of gold, or some other metal.

The duty of the presbyters was to recite,

or chant, the Divine offices, which were in the ancient Syriac tongue, twice every day, at stated hours; to administer the sacraments, and to perform other religious duties, for which they received certain regulated fees. These payments seem to have constituted their sole revenue. The eldest of the presbyters always presided in the church. Of the pastoral care they appear to have been lamentably negligent. They busied themselves but little with the lives and manners of their people. The work of admonition and correction, indeed, was conceived to fall more peculiarly within the paternal province of the bishop,—a notion, by which that most important of all duties was virtually consigned to neglect; since no individual, however active or conscientious, can effectively superintend the morals of a large and scattered community.

The devotion of the people to the Primate of Babylon was sincere and fervent, and rendered them extremely impatient of all attempts to introduce into their public services any mention of the Pope or of the Romish Church. The people were in the habit of punctual attendance on divine worship on Sundays, wherever they had opportunities; but the dispersed state of the population, and other causes, deprived a large portion of them of all public religious ministrations for months, and, in some instances, for

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years together. The fast of Lent was observed by them with extreme severity, and this, on pain of excommunication; a censure which they regarded with the deepest terror. So rigorous, indeed, was their ecclesiastical discipline in this respect, that there were certain enormities which excluded the penitent criminal from absolution, even when at the point of death.

A zealous attachment to their ancient usages was here, as elsewhere, found compatible with a state of unhappy ignorance as to the *weightier matters* of religion. With the greater part of the people, the knowledge of their spiritual duty was confined to making the sign of the cross: while others, who were better instructed, could recite the Lord's prayer, and the angelic salutation. Another indication of their low state of religious feeling was the mean, squalid, and neglected condition of their churches. All this spiritual apathy was the natural result of a system which provided no stated and regular instruction for the people; and the evil was, doubtless, aggravated by the use of the ancient Syriac in their religious services, a language unintelligible to any but the priesthood; and often but imperfectly understood even by them.

Such, according to the representations of La Croze, was the state of Christianity among this ancient community, when the Portuguese undertook that revolution which was at length

effected by the synod of Diamper. By the decrees of that assembly some abuses may possibly have received a salutary correction. The main object, however, of the whole proceeding was to impose on the Indo-Syrian Church an unlimited submission to the Pope; and this disastrous project was brought to a successful conclusion by the unwearied exertion of Archbishop Menezes. So extraordinary was the zeal of that prelate, for the complete purification of this heretical community, that he would willingly have re-baptized every Christian in Malabar: and, in order that every monument of error might be obliterated among them, with a barbarous and stupid bigotry, he actually consigned all the ancient Syriac books and documents to the flames!

This flagitious usurpation was followed by sixty years of servitude, during which interval the people were insulted by the arrogance, and sometimes plundered by the rapacity, of a succession of Jesuit bishops. From the first, however, this tyranny was very impatiently endured[1];

[1] This is distinctly confessed by Paulinus. His words are these: "Vix ergo Menezius obitu suo oculos clauserat, jam illa infelix Angamalensis, seu Cranganorensis,—(tot laboribus, tot sudoribus et impensis Menezii ad Catholicam fidem et Ecclesiæ unitatem traducta)—Nestoriana diocesis, malignantium sacerdotum agitata furoribus, ad veterem *toto conatu*, redire tentavit insaniam."—India Orient. Christ. p. 70.

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and it had armed the resentments of a large portion of the Christian community, when the Eastern empire of the Portuguese was shaken to its foundations by the courage and enterprise of the Dutch. The oppressors were then expelled by the inflexible Hollander, and the Christians of Malabar were enabled, once more, to assert their independence. The Romish ecclesiastics reluctantly abandoned their prey; but they had the atrocious satisfaction of leaving a church, which they had found at peace, in a state of miserable discord and confusion, that has, unhappily, continued to the present day. It would be quite inconsistent with the design of this work to give the remainder of their history from that period to the beginning of the present century. It may, indeed, be summed up in a few words. When the papal divines were compelled to retire by the Dutch, one great division of the Malabar Christians still remained in subjection to the see of Rome; but even these soon fell into a singular and most calamitous state of schism among themselves. The Portuguese archbishop of Cranganore has always claimed them as his legitimate charge; while, on the other hand, this right has been obstinately contested by the Propagandâ Society at Rome, who still continue to send out Italian vicars apostolic for their government: and between these two opposite claimants, the

spiritual allegiance of these people is, to this hour, divided[1]. With regard to that portion of the Syrian Church which has resumed its independence, it is a most memorable circumstance, that ever since the destruction of the Portuguese dominion, it has received its prelates from the see of Antioch, and, with them, those Jacobite doctrines, respecting the person of the Saviour, which are in direct opposition to their ancient Nestorian belief. Their intercourse with Syria, however, has never resumed its former regularity; and they have, consequently, lost much of that peculiar spirit which, in better times, preserved them from degeneracy and corruption.

It should here be noted, that the portion of this community which resisted the Romish usurpation, were compelled to retire into the hilly country called Malayalim, and to leave their churches on the sea-coast in possession of the papists; who, on their part, were under the necessity of accommodating themselves to the indelible prejudices of their converts, and of allowing the Roman mass to be chanted in the Syriac language. In the interior of the country the independent Syrians have remained

[1] The details of this history may be found in Paulinus's India Orientalis Christiana. And an abstract of the whole is inserted by archdeacon Robinson, in his "Last Days of Bishop Heber." Madras, 1829, p. 32—42.

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from that time to the present day. It was, therefore, requisite for Bishop Middleton so to arrange his visit, as to form one northern, one eastern, and one southern expedition of two days each. It is impossible to enter on this part of the narrative without expressing the bitterest regret for the loss of those materials which he himself had collected with a view to a complete memoir respecting the Syro-Malabaric Church. The object was one in which he was deeply interested. During the ten days that he passed among these people he took ample notes of all the information which he could procure. He obtained transcripts of the Liturgy and formularies of their church under the immediate inspection of the diocesan; and in one of his letters, he expresses a strong hope that he may be "enabled to ascertain, *more fully than has yet been done*, what is the purity in which this extraordinary people maintain the principles of the Christian faith, and in what degree they symbolize with the Church of England." Besides, feeling as he did, that a distinct and satisfactory account of the Christians of Malabar would naturally be expected from the first Protestant Bishop of India, he spared no pains to accomplish himself for the task in a manner worthy of his own reputation, and of the sacred importance of the subject; and, with this view, he had devoted a considerable

portion of his time to studies connected with that subject, and, more especially, to the assiduous cultivation of the Syriac language. Under these circumstances, it will readily be conceived, that his papers, even in their loose and imperfect state, must have been quite invaluable. Unfortunately, the Bishop himself was under a different impression. He regarded his undigested collections as unworthy of the public eye, and as incapable of being made worthy by the care of his surviving friends; and they accordingly perished in that indiscriminate destruction to which by his will he condemned all his unpublished compositions. Thus it is that the Christian world has entirely lost the contributions which this accomplished scholar and divine might otherwise have rendered towards a most interesting department of ecclesiastical history!

It was a most fortunate circumstance that Bishop Middleton was accompanied on his excursion by archdeacon Barnes, who carried with him to this, as to every other walk of usefulness, an observant mind and a zealous heart. The archdeacon did not suffer the opportunity to pass without preserving some tolerably copious notices of what he saw and heard. Nevertheless, he naturally felt anxious to avoid all appearance of trespassing on the province which his diocesan had prepared himself to occupy; and, for this

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reason, his memoranda were less full and perfect than they would have been, had the office of recording particulars devolved solely upon himself. His remarks, however, contain a fund of truly valuable information; and it is wholly to them that I am indebted for the ability to furnish any detailed account of Bishop Middleton's visit to the Christian Church of Malabar.

CHAPTER X.

The Bishop visits the Church at Tripoontorah—Curringacherry —His conference with the Syrian Catanars—Moolentonty—Condenaad—Syrian hymns—Malabar school—Sediampoor.

THE first of the churches visited by the Bishop was that of Tripoontorah, a building about sixty feet in length, and in width about twenty-five. About twenty feet of the length is enclosed by a railing or screen, very much resembling that which is still to be seen in many of the ancient country churches in England. The roof is pointed, and the timbers exposed. The covering is of cajan, the church being too poor to afford tiles! The ceiling of the chancel is arched and fretted, presenting on the whole a sufficiently handsome appearance. In the little squares of the ceiling are painted representations of angels' faces. At the altar is a large frame with paintings in compartments, taken from historical subjects of the New Testament. There is also a figure of the Virgin and Child; and in front stands a crucifix, small enough to be concealed, occasionally, by a simple cross, of much larger

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dimensions, when placed immediately before it. The reason for this contrivance is, that the church is used indifferently by papists or Syrians; and that during the Syrian service the *idol*, though not altogether removed, must, at least, be placed out of sight. It did not appear that there were stated hours for the Romish and Syrian congregations respectively. The earliest comer had the use of the church; and to the people it generally seemed a matter of indifference which service was performed. Each was in Syriac, and each, of course, alike unintelligible. Both Syrian and Romish priests were actually in the church together, when visited by Bishop Middleton. The former shewed a copy of the Gospels in Malayalim, printed at Bombay, and used by the Syrians only. The service of the other is the Roman mass, translated into Syriac, by the celebrated Archbishop Menezes, which is printed at Rome, and entitled, "Ordo Chaldaicus Rituum et Lectionum, juxtà morem Ecclesiæ Malabaricæ; Superiorum permissu editus. Romæ, 1775."

In front of the western entrance stands a large cross, and close by it, a box for the reception of alms for the poor, and oblations for the repairs of the church. Two similar boxes were fixed on a small post, at the entrance of the rails, for a similar purpose. Besides these casual donations, there appears to be no fund

whatever for the maintenance of the indigent, and there is consequently much miserable and destitute beggary in the place. Near the western entrance is a font of stone, and holy water stands in a recess by the small door near to the rails. In the body of the church are two or three cars for the purpose of carrying images, in papal ceremonies and processions! It is their custom to bury within the walls of the church; bishops close by the altar, clergy between the altars and the screen, and the laity in the body of the edifice.

Such is the picture of a country church in Malabar, where Romish corruption has been able to establish itself. The next church visited was that of Curringacherry, about one mile distant. It is dedicated to St. George, and is *exclusively* Syrian. Its dimensions are about forty feet in length by twenty in breadth. Between the altar and the rails hangs a large chandelier, supported by a rope from the ceiling, hung very low, and lighted by cotton wicks in cocoa-nut oil. At the altar was a large painting of St. George, surrounded by four compartments, of single figures each. At the bottom, was represented the Last Supper; above, in the middle, a figure of the Father, as they said, surrounded by clouds and angels, and having a tiara on his head. There were no images in the church; but a double cross, with three

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candlesticks on the upper part of the table, and two on the lower. Among the lumber and rubbish, near to the altar table, was a crucifix formerly used by the papists, now thrown aside. The timber of the roof was here also exposed to view, and the beams supported from the walls, by carved elephants' heads. The *Kasheeshas*, or Presbyters, produced copies of the Gospels and Psalms, in Syriac, but without the epistles. They produced also a book of Hymns, by Zacharias, probably a former bishop of their Church. They chanted the service very monotonously, to a single tune, resembling some of their native melodies. The village contains about 200 Syrian Christians, including men, women, and children, besides heathens: for no village is Christian exclusively. There is no school, and no instruction, except that the priest usually expounds the Epistle and Gospel, after having read them in Syriac and Malayalim. In this church, (as in all others) there is a curtain before the altar, and a chair within the steps on the north side. The church is built of the red stone common on the Malabar coast. The steps were of gneiss or micaceous granite. There is a font at the west end, and, on the other side of the entrance, a basin for holy water. On the outside also of the western extremity, is a large porch, with chairs in it. By the cross in front of the western entrance is placed a receptacle

for oblations of rice and oil, chiefly such as are offered in pursuance of religious vows.

In the evening of this day eleven catanars from the neighbouring churches, attended the Bishop at the Rajah of Cochin's bungalo, which had been procured for his use by the considerate good offices of Captain Blacker, and to which all necessary refreshments had been sent from Balghatty. Besides these eleven catanars, another was present by the name of George, who afterwards was chosen bishop, and assumed the title of Mar Dionysius[1]. He had been sent

[1] There had recently been considerable dissension among the Christians, who had renounced the communion of the church of Rome—(and who are known by the name of new or separate Christians)—respecting the person truly entitled to the episcopal office. Mar Dionysius (who, when Dr. Buchanan visited those parts, was living at Candenaad), died without consecrating his successor. Mar Thomas, his nephew, then assumed the bishopric, after a mock consecration, and died in the course of the year 1816. The name taken by the present Bishop was also Mar Dionysius. He received his consecration at the hand of Mar Philoxenus, whose usual residence was at Cranganore, but who did not assume any episcopal authority or jurisdiction. Besides these, there was a functionary who called himself the Ecclesiastical Governor of the Romish Archbishopric of Cranganore, an aged man, in a state of decrepitude, who visited Bishop Middleton when he was in the country before; and who stated that he was there for the purpose of answering a complaint preferred by the Propagandists at Verapoli, for having under his protection certain churches, which had revolted from their jurisdiction.

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by the metropolitan to attend Bishop Middleton on the preceding Sunday, and now accompanied him hither. He was attired in loose white trowsers, with a white tunic or shirt, a red silk cap, hanging much down behind, and carried a long staff of cane, tipped with gold. He was a good-looking man, of mild and modest demeanour, and interesting manners. He was, apparently, about thirty years of age, had a black beard, and his head shaved on the crown. On this occasion he and his brother catanars seated themselves on mats upon the ground, the Bishop and his archdeacon being in chairs at the table. The Bishop, being provided with his memorandum-book and pencil, began the

He added, that the seceding congregation had suffered severe oppression, and that all the power of the Propagandists had been acquired by a long continued system of encroachment and intrigue. The visit from this ecclesiastic was followed by one from the vicar-general himself, and a Father Prospero, from Verapoli, who conversed with Bishop Middleton for some time, respecting the press of the Propagandâ, and the numerous works which had issued from it. At last his lordship ventured to advert to the unhappy misunderstanding between them and their brethren: upon which the vicar-general assured him that they of Verapoli were entirely blameless, and that the whole guilt rested on the obstinacy of the people of Cranganore! From all which it appeared, that if the Papists had succeeded in tearing away a considerable portion of the ancient Indo-Syrian Church, they had sorely quarrelled among themselves concerning the division of the spoil.

conference, through his interpreter, by saying, that he felt a deep and friendly interest for their Church, and had visited them for the purpose of making some enquiries relative to its present condition. They replied by expressing the lively satisfaction with which they saw among them an English bishop, to whose favour and protection they were most anxious to commend themselves, and by declaring that they would readily answer his enquiries to the best of their knowledge and ability. The following are the the most important particulars obtained from their communication.

Though the nominal head of their Church is the Patriarch of Antioch, their intercourse with him has long been much interrupted. The Syrian Church of Malabar was then under a metropolitan, named Mar Dionysius, whose residence is at the college at Kotim, about forty miles south of Cochin, and a bishop called Mar Philoxenus, whose proper residence is at Calicut, but who at that time was at Kotim also. The clergy in general go by the appellation of catanars. The priests, or presbyters, are entitled kasheesas. The term shumshanee is applied to deacons properly so called, and comprehends, likewise, several inferior orders, similar to those which are mentioned in early ecclesiastical history. Whenever they appoint a bishop from among their own clergy, he is chosen by a majo-

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rity of the clergy and laity, who vote at the election together. No person can be appointed to a church without the consent of the laity; neither, on the other hand, have the congregation any vote as a body, in ecclesiastical affairs, unless the catanar agrees. Each church or congregation has a court, consisting of the catanar and four lay elders, who meet in the church porch[1], (or if there be no porch, in the body of the church,) to punish evil-doers by fine, admonition, or excommunication. The metropolitan has no fixed period for visitations, but visits occasionally if required. He sends frequently for the catanars, to enquire into their proceedings, and to ascertain the state of their parishes and congregations.

In the year 1698, they stated, the Syrians had seventy churches and 100,000 Christians. In 1708, Mar Gabriel came among them, and wished to introduce some innovations, but no one could be prevailed on to follow his practices or doctrines. They have still among them the memory of Mar Yohannè, who was sent from Antioch in 1747, and was known among the Syro-Romans by the name of heretic and iconoclast, because he prohibited and destroyed the

[1] This practice is not wholly unknown in England. The minister, churchwardens, and overseers, meet for the payment of the poor in the porch at Tawstock church, in Devonshire.

images. They have also now remaining some of the books brought to them in 1751 by the three malpans, or Jacobite bishops, Mar Basilius, and Mar Gregorius, and another Mar Yohannè, who allowed the clergy to marry, and continued the prohibition of images. Bishop Middleton, having shewn them Shaaf's edition of the Syriac Testament with the Latin version, asked them if they had any other Syriac translation. They replied that the three bishops mentioned above introduced Testaments, which differed from theirs in the words, but not in the signification. The Latin they could not read, but would willingly learn it if they had the means. They had never seen or heard of a book which the Bishop enquired for, called *The Treasure.* They have no convents or monastic institutions in Malabar. They keep Easter by a rule different from that of the Papists, but were unable to explain it without reference to their books [1]. Their Liturgies they affirmed to be conformable to the decrees of the

[1] The rule is as follows :—Find the full moon after the 6th of January, or Feast of the Baptism of Christ ; and from that full moon, if it falls on a Monday, or if not, from the Monday following, count twenty-six days. The twenty-sixth day, if it be itself a Monday ; or if not, the Monday following, will be the first of the three days fast of Jonas. To this add eighteen exclusive, which will give the Sunday before Ash-Wednesday. From this Sunday is a fast or Lent of fifty days to Easter.

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Council of Nice, A.D. 325. *They denied that they were, or ever had been, Nestorians.* They said that a Nestorian bishop had come into their country in 1545; and another since, in 1708[1], who was received as a bishop, though his doctrines were rejected. Of Eutyches they had heard, and believed that he was an enemy to Christianity. The shumshanas, or deacons, are ordained at the early age of ten or twelve; every kasheesa or presbyter must be at least twenty-four, unless in cases of particular exigency, and is examined for holy orders by the malpan, or doctor. A bishop must be thirty-three years old. Ordination is conferred by imposition of hands by the bishop and three or four presbyters. For the consecration of a bishop, more than one bishop is, in general, necessary; but, in Malabar, circumstances compel them to be satisfied with one. They have the Malayalim translation in many of their churches, and consider it good and plain, so that children may understand it. It was made by Ramban Joseph, who was then the bishop, by the name of Mar Dionysius, under the direction of the *late* bishop of the same name. The number of their services in each church depends on the number of the catanars; for no priest ever administers mass to another. They have a

[1] Doubtless Mar Gabriel, who lived and died a Nestorian. —See archdeacon Robinson's last Days of Heber, Appendix, p. 38.

catechism, though it is but little used. They have no schools; and did not seem to know whether they ever had any. They, however, did not express the slightest objection to them, but said that the young, for the most part, are taught at home to repeat the Apostle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue: and that, besides this, it was afterwards stated to be a common practice with many families to have domestic worship every evening after sunset, and then to talk on religious subjects, for the purpose of instructing their children. With respect to the Decalogue, it must be noted, that the second commandment is altogether omitted, and the tenth divided into two, precisely after the Romish fashion; a proof that the purest Syrian Churches have not wholly escaped the Popish infection.

In the administration of baptism, they have one godfather for a boy, and one godmother for a girl. The sign of the cross is made with oil on the eyes, nose, ears, and mouth of the infant, to denote that those senses are, thenceforth, dedicated to the service of God; but no salt is placed on the tongue. The form of baptism is, "Be thou blessed and perfected, in the name of the Father, Amen,—of the Son, Amen, —and of the Holy Ghost, Amen." In celebrating the Eucharist they use leavened bread, made at the time of the service, and some of the leaven is preserved till the next sacrament. They stamp

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the wafer with a cross dipped in oil from Bussorah, which, however, is not consecrated oil. No deacon is allowed to administer the sacrament; or to become a bishop, without being first ordained priest. The priests administer the Eucharist to themselves during the mass, and receive the elements separately. For the laity, the bread is dipped in the wine; and thus the two are administered together, after the mass. During the service the congregation stand; but kneel at the consecration and reception of the sacrament, and bow themselves to the ground at the beginning and the end of the service. The women are placed nearer to the skreen than the men, and separate from them. The catanars declared that they should feel no difficulty in conforming with the Church of England, if they could but be allowed to retain the privilege of separate communion, which gives them an opportunity of separate confession; whereas the laity confess and receive the sacrament only three times a-year. They reject the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation, but still believe the bread and wine to be the body and blood of Christ in some obscure and mystical sense, conformably to the language of John vi. They have no belief in purgatory, and imagine that, after death, there is one common receptacle, where the spirits of the just exist in an intermediate state of hope and peace, while the souls of the

impenitent are tormented by a fearful looking for of judgment. They, nevertheless, use prayers for the dead ; as many as forty days for a rich man, and not more than one for a poor man ; but they confess that their poverty rather than their will consents to this practice, and that they continue it chiefly as a source of income !

They keep St. Thomas's day on the 21st of December, and on the 3d of July they celebrate the removal of his body from St. Thomè. It has already appeared that holy water is in use among them ; and the Bishop now learned that the water is consecrated with a little of the earth on which St. Thomas stood, wherever so precious a relic can be procured ; though, if that sacred dust is not to be obtained, frankincense is substituted for it,—a circumstance which shews that the tradition respecting the apostle is still prevalent in the country. Their great ecclesiastical censure is excommunication : but besides this they have an inferior penalty, a sort of rebuke, which is very simply, but very significantly and effectually, administered by the priest's omitting to notice the offender, when the congregation pass and receive the priest's blessing. When they are re-admitted to the peace of the church, their reconciliation is completed by their taking the hands of the priest between their own.

In the Syrian, as well as the Syro-Roman Churches, the priests have long lived in celibacy

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(probably ever since the intrusion of the Portuguese). For this practice the Syrians have no other reason to produce, but that such is the custom: and the establishment and preservation of this custom has, no doubt, been unhappily facilitated by the extreme poverty of the clergy. They are, however, by no means bound to abstinence from matrimony; and, through the encouragement of Colonel Munro, the British resident in Travancore, and the permission of their own bishop, several of the clergy have of late become married men; and many would, probably, follow their example, if their incomes were sufficient for the support of a family. Matrimony is not reckoned among their sacraments, though they decidedly regard it as a solemn religious contract. In the celebration of it, the bridegroom throws a cloth over the bride, as an emblem of her obligation to obedience. They have one very remarkable custom, which has a strong savour of Judaism. If a woman be delivered of a male child, she does not enter the church for forty days. If she produces a female child, she is excluded from the church for double that time [1].

Besides keeping Wednesday and Friday as fast-days, throughout the year, and observing the great fast of Lent, they have other solemn

[1] See Levit. xii. 2—5.

seasons of rigid abstinence, which correspond pretty nearly with those of the Greek Church; namely, one of fourteen days before St. Peter's day; another of fourteen days previous to the Assumption of the Virgin, in August; and, lastly, a fast in December, preparatory to Christmas.

With regard to doctrine, they profess their belief in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. They acknowledge Jesus Christ to be very God and very Man; and they call the Virgin Mary the Mother of God. The Apostle's Creed is used in their service, and they receive no other. They have no conception of the doctrine of absolute predestination, but imagine that every man may be saved by faith and repentance.

Thus ended this most interesting conference; which, however, it must be recollected, was carried on through the medium of a native Portuguese interpreter, who, though sufficiently intelligent, and of respectable attainments, was not very intimately acquainted with English. In endeavouring to interpret the expressions and terms which occurred in the Bishop's questions, he might not always distinctly comprehend his Lordship's meaning; so that some errors and misconceptions may have been inadvertently recorded. When the conference was over, the Bishop offered his warm acknowledgments to

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these worthy men for their frank communications, and spoke to them in kind and honourable terms of the knowledge and intelligence they had displayed, which, he said, were signally creditable to them under their present circumstances of suffering and depression. He then expressed an earnest hope that they would patiently study their Scriptures, and carefully teach the children of their poor. They replied by protesting their readiness to do so, and by requesting his paternal protection and kind offices. Colonel Munro, they said, had proved himself substantially their friend, by employing many of them as writers. Captain Blacker, too, had first set the example of employing about one hundred of them at Cochin. But they had been so long unused to kindness and confidence, that they were still extremely retiring in their demeanour, and appeared almost painfully distrustful of themselves.

On the 8th of October, the Bishop and his party proceeded to Moolantoorty, which has a large and handsome church, the ceiling of which is almost profusely ornamented with little roses in compartments, and coloured in a manner not very dissimilar to the ceiling in the chancel of some churches in England. Over the main altar is a figure or head of the Father, having the Son on the right hand, and the dove on the left. Below, are carved figures of the

Apostles and the Last Supper. The heads had been broken off by the iconoclastic zeal of the bishops sent from Antioch in the middle of the last century, two of whom, Yohannè and Gregorio, were buried in the chancel of this very church. The priests here not only denied transubstantiation, but seemed to consider the Eucharist chiefly as a commemoration of the death of Christ. They denied that it was their custom to offer adoration to saints; but allowed that they addressed the spirits of holy men as intercessors who might present their supplications before the throne of God. On one side of the arch of this church, at the western entrance, is a Syriac inscription, a copy of which was given to Bishop Middleton. It was afterwards ascertained that this is the only instance of the kind throughout the churches of Malabar. At the west end of the church was a gallery, to be reached by stairs: a portion of it was boarded up, so as to form an apartment, which, it seems, constituted the dormitory, and, perhaps, the sole residence, of the priest. The party were allowed to enter, and to survey the accommodations of this *incumbent*. They consisted of an ordinary bedstead, a *gindeg* or washing basin, a vessel for cooking rice, a lamp with cocoa nut oil, and, lastly, a small staff, tipped with silver, exhibiting, altogether, a picture at least of the simplicity and the poverty of primitive times!

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On the same day the Bishop reached Candenaad. The church at this place is more than usually ornamented, and the decorations are executed with greater skill and care than at Moolantoorty. It is chiefly remarkable as containing the remains of an ancient Mafrian, or Jacobite bishop[1], called Shokerullah, who was buried by the altar in the year 937. If this account be true, it would seem to lend confirmation to the suspicion intimated above, that the Jacobite doctrines may have found their way to Malabar long previously to the arrival of the Portuguese. The clergy produced a large quarto MS. of hymns, brought from Antioch by one of those three Mafrians who have been mentioned above, and who came from Antioch about 1751. These hymns, however, were seldom used, and apparently not at all prized, as they were most readily parted with to Bishop Middleton. That the zeal of the iconoclasts had been at work in this church, as well as in the last, appeared probable from the headless figure of an Apostle near the altar. They shewed a complete copy of the Syriac Bible, and profess to use the whole of the Scrip-

[1] But see Robinson's Last Days of Heber, p. 41, which speaks of a Syrian clergyman called Shokerullah, in 1751. It appears that Basilius, the Jacobite bishop, was buried at Candenaad about that time. The church has also a tomb over the remains of Mar Thomas, a Syrian.

tures. They have a small Malayalim school; and the effect is, that almost all can read and write. It is curious enough that the teacher of this school is a heathen, although the books and lessons are entirely Christian. At the west end of the church a woman was seen, performing a fast of twelve days, in pursuance of a vow. During that period she is bound to eat only once in twenty-four hours, and taste neither flesh, fish, nor milk. At the expiration of the vow the woman would confess, and then receive the sacrament. Near to this church was a Romish chapel, the priest of which was in attendance, and ready to receive the Bishop. His lordship, however, declined entering it, being desirous of devoting his limited time to the examination of Syrian rather than Romish places of worship.

The day concluded with a visit to the church of Udiampoor[1], about one mile from Candenaad. Bishop Middleton now stood within those very walls which had witnessed the sessions of that celebrated synod, summoned by the furious and oppressive bigot Mezenes, and which had seen the barbarous destruction of the ancient Syriac records of the Christianity of Malabar! The place had altogether a Popish aspect. The altar was crowded with figures and images of

[1] Or Diampore, usually written Diamper.

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our Saviour, and of St. John, and of St. Sebastian, and lastly, a print of Sir F. Drake, before the cross. In the north side of the wall was a niche, containing an image of St. Michael, and corresponding to it on the south side, was a figure of our Lord upon the cross. On the outside of the rails, or skreen, stood a small pulpit to the south; and a *ladder* leading up to it. On the northern wall was a picture of a woman confessing to the priest, while the devil was crouching at her elbow! From this place the party returned by water to Balghatty.

CHAPTER XI.

The Bishop continues his visits to the Syrian churches—Verapoli—Agaparumboo—Attends the Syrian celebration of Divine Service—Angamale, conversation with the Syrian Zachariah—Tekkah Peroor—Places where St. Thomas is said to have erected crosses—Kotim—Conference with the Syrian Bishop Mar Dionysius—Mar Philoxenus—Alepie—General reflections on the state of the Syrian Churches—Character of the native foresters in Malabar.

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The Bishop having rested one day at Captain Blacker's, on the 10th of October commenced the northern portion of his circuit; in which the first place to be visited was Verapoli, the seat of one of the three vicars apostolic, appointed by the Holy See, under the immediate authority of the congregation de Propagandâ at Rome. The chief object of attention here is the seminary for the education of missionaries. It presents nothing very striking or remarkable; there is a gallery with some few pictures, apparently copies from good ones: and there is a library containing about 300 volumes, in much better preservation than those at Goa. Even of these, some are stamped with the mark of prohibition,

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as heretical; and, of the rest, the greater portion appeared to consist of the biography of saints, tomes of controversy, with histories of Jesuit missions, and Portuguese conquests. There are two apartments for study opening into each other by folding doors. About twenty students were assembled in each. Those students who are strictly of the Church of Rome, are habited in black; the Syro-Roman students, in white. They were furnished with printed Syriac grammars, and some few other books from the Propagandâ Society. In each room was an altar with crosses and images, and a canopy, with the initials S. L. G. (Saint Louis Gonsalvo). According to the accounts of these people, there are sixty-six Syro-Roman churches, and eighteen Roman, under the Bishop of Verapoli; and, in all, about 80,000 native Christians, acknowledging obedience to the See of Rome. The church is after the model of St. Peter's, on a very small scale.

On Friday, Oct. 11, Bishop Middleton and archdeacon Barnes proceeded to the Church of Agaperumboo, (or Accaparamba) for the purpose of being present at divine service, which, in the Syrian churches, is performed every morning, usually at eight o'clock, though the time is at the discretion of the priest. The catanar, having notice of the Bishop's intention, awaited his arrival. At a quarter past eight he appeared,

and was met by several of the catanars, who conducted him from the entrance of the enclosure round the church, to the west door. They were preceded by tom-toms and cymbals, the noise of which did not hinder the catanars from chanting a Syriac hymn. The musicians remained on the outside of the church. The Bishop and the archdeacon were conducted within the skreen; they declined sitting, although chairs had attentively been procured for them. The kasheesa, who was to officiate, wore a black cassock with a red leathern girdle: but when he approached the altar, where the whole service is performed, he put over this cassock a white surplice, and a red damask mantle, which hung behind over his shoulders; green silk sleeves from the wrist to the elbow, a *cape* or hood, and, lastly, a green silk pall meeting in front. On the north side of the table were two shumshanas or deacons in white, the kasheesa himself standing in front of the altar. Before the commencement of the regular service the shumshanas sung a short morning hymn; the bell then tolled for a few minutes, and the music played at the west entrance. When this was over, the kasheesa commenced by chanting a hymn, to which the shumshanas responded, and during that time he frequently turned himself round to the people from the east, by the south, to the west. Another catanar then read the portion of Scripture

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appointed for the Gospel; after which, the first priest, turning to the altar, with his back towards the people, chanted prayers and hymns, to which they responded Amen. He was on his feet during the whole time, and, occasionally, turned himself round, crossing himself on the breast. This was followed by the Apostle's Creed, which was recited by the whole congregation, while the catanars stood in front of the altar swinging their incense boxes. The first part of these prayers and short hymns had reference or allusion to the conception, the next to the birth of Christ, on which occasion, on the pronouncing the words, "*Peace on earth, good-will towards men,*" the attendant catanars take the officiating priest's right between both their hands, and so pass *the Peace* to the congregation, each of whom takes his neighbour's right hand, and salutes him with the word *peace*. During the hymns little bells and cymbals are used, accompanied by the words, "Thus did Miriam and David sing unto the Lord." In the course of the prayers the priest introduces the mention of certain eminent persons by name; but for what purpose, or in what manner, could not be very clearly ascertained: possibly, in the way of holy and solemn commemoration,—for it was uniformly denied that they prayed either for, or to, these worthies. At the end of the prayers and hymns the curtain is drawn before the altar, in order to make a pause

in the service, and to afford the congregation an opportunity of sitting. During this interval, two bells are tolled, as if to give notice of the communion service, which follows next. When the curtain is again drawn aside, the priest commences by repeating the Lord's Prayer to the people: he then makes the sign of the cross in the air. At the consecration of the elements, he first elevates the bread, and then the wine, with both his hands, and at the moment of elevation the tom-toms and cymbals strike up loud and quick. The shumshanas then sing a hymn; the curtain is again closed, and the priest prays by himself. The curtain is then once more drawn aside, the priest comes forward with the bread in his right hand, and the wine in his left, stands in front of the table and chants a hymn, setting forth that Christ, who is crucified for us, is risen from the dead. He then turns to the altar, and takes the sacrament, in sight of the congregation, kneeling. The music at the west end once more strikes up, after which, all is silent; the priest kneels and says a short prayer to himself, rises, wipes out the chalice clean with his right hand, and the service concludes. No one received the sacrament except the officiating priest, and by him it is received in this manner every day; by the people, only at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. The whole of the service lasted about three quarters of an hour.

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While it was proceeding, the congregation stood without the skreen, and, to all appearance, had no concern in what was going on within it, and even the shumshanas perform their portion of the duty with very slight indications of pious or reverential emotion!

From the above representation it would seem that the religious services of the Indo-Syrians are far removed from the sober, unaffected solemnity of our own ritual. The celebration of the Eucharist, in particular, is unhappily encumbered with trifling and apparently superstitious forms, which one would gladly see banished from all Christian worship. And yet, unworthy as these embellishments are of a truly spiritual adoration, they are simplicity itself when compared with the multitude of toyish vanities with which the Greek Church disguises the same awful rite[1].

After the service, the Bishop with Archdeacon Barnes went up stairs and conversed with the catanars in their apartments, and from them they learned some particulars in addition to those which had been already communicated at other places. It appears that their parishes or congregations are regularly divided off by landmarks; but, besides this, each house and individual is enrolled, and all must come to their

[1] They are fully described by Ricaut.

own parish churches to receive the sacrament; neither can any one emigrate from one church to another without a testimonial of his sober life and conversation. A residence of twelve years is necessary to render a man eligible to the office of an elder. Any person who chooses may become a malpan or teacher. It may here be proper to state, once for all, that in common with all the Syrian Christians visited by Bishop Middleton, they distinctly acknowledged that there are *seven sacraments;* a statement which it is difficult to reconcile with that of La Croze, who, nevertheless, it should be remembered, professes only to repeat the accounts given by the papal historians. At the same time, it must be remarked that the notions entertained by these people of a sacrament, are extremely indefinite and vague. They seem to regard it only as a religious rite or solemnity of rather more than ordinary importance. Whether the sacramental character can properly belong to any rite not ordained by Christ himself,—or whether the ceremonies which they call sacraments had even the sanction of apostolical institution,—are questions which, probably, have never once occurred to them. It is possible, therefore, that this was a Romish innovation, which gradually established itself even among the purely Syrian congregations, and which may have escaped much obstinate resistance, from

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the belief that it involved no very momentous change in the system of their faith. The question, as viewed by them, may have been nothing more than this,—whether the appellation of a sacrament should be extended to certain religious solemnities, to which it had never been applied before?

Previously to parting with these friendly catanars, one of them promised to copy for the Bishop their canon of the Old and New Testament, which differs very slightly from our own. They produced a Syriac grammar, composed by one Philoxenus in the seventh century, a Syriac dictionary of great antiquity, and some books of prayers, copied, as they said, about 965 years ago.

The church of Agaperumboo bears melancholy witness to the destructive incursions of Tippoo Sahib. When this barbarian invaded the country, the altar-piece and the rails, together with the roof of the building, were destroyed by fire, the marks of which are to this day visible on the walls. The greater part of the edifice is now covered only with cajan; but the arch of the chancel was fortunately of stone, and therefore was able to resist the flames. A still more deplorable spectacle was exhibited at Angamale (about four miles distant), once the residence of the Syrian bishops, and able to boast of three venerable and handsome

churches. These were all laid in ruins by the barbarians of the Mysore; and two of them still remain in a state of miserable dilapidation. The only one which has been at all completely repaired is that of St. George. It has been restored with scrupulous attention to the ancient style of architecture. The roof is well covered in, but only with cajan; the chancel has been provided with a handsome ceiling, arched and fretted in the former manner; and the walls are decorated with a great variety of paintings. Of the church of St. Mary's, which is of great antiquity, nothing was left standing but the side walls: and the poor Christians have raised a cajan roof over what was the chancel, and there they still perform divine service. The third church is dedicated to a saint and martyr, called Ramban Oormeez, and is supposed to be the oldest of the three; and its pretensions are partly supported by an arch and font at the west end, whose appearance and style bespeak a very remote antiquity [1]. The chancel of this church remains in a very ruinous condition. Bishop Middleton employed a Portuguese at this place to make drawings of some parts of these edifices. The objects which he was more particularly anxious to have represented, were the exterior of St. George's, and the west front of Ramban

[1] See drawing 6.

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Ooormez at Angamale, and the interior of the church at Agaperumboo: and it was his intention to procure engravings of these [1], and to insert them, together with their ground plans, in his intended memoir on the Syrian Christians.

On Sunday, Oct. 13, the Bishop conversed with two lay Syrians, who attended to pay their respects to him; and one of whom, named Zachariah, was employed by the Bishop to transcribe for him the Syriac Liturgy. They stated that the Syrians had been settled in Malayalim almost 1500 years. They said that, although they had no monastic orders in Malabar, the higher order of priests observe a life of strict abstinence, and devote themselves to study and prayer. They confirmed the statement, which had been repeatedly made by others, that the sacraments were seven; but of these they were quite unable to give any intelligible account, and appeared greatly pleased and struck on hearing the explanation of a sacrament from our Church catechism. When the rite of confirmation is administered, they undergo an examination by their catanar; who asks them what is the number of the sacraments, but puts no question relative to their nature or their use. They are also required, on that

[1] These drawings are now in possession of Mrs. Middleton, and with her permission the engravings attached to this volume have been made.

occasion, to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. The Bishop, after thanking these persons for their communications, addressed them shortly in the language of exhortation and encouragement. In reply, they declared their readiness to hold fast their faith without wavering, and expressed their extreme anxiety for further guidance and instruction. They were now, they said, wandering about in darkness.

The church of Tekkah Paroor[1], which was hastily visited on the 14th of October, stands on a spot nearly opposite to a large cross on the other side of the back-water, which runs inland from Cochin to Quilon. Tradition reports this spot to be one of the seven places where St. Thomas originally erected a cross himself. The other six are Quilon, Cranganore, Neranam, Palloor, Cavai, Pokomimgalam or Penperam. Of these seven places, the only Syrian Church is at Neranam. The others are Syro-Roman, under the vicar-apostolic of Verapoli. The present church at Tekkah Paroor was built in 1712. It is sufficiently decorated, after the Romish manner, with paintings and carvings: it has a skreen, or *septum*, like the Syrian churches, and a small porch in front, of Syrian architecture; and the

[1] For a drawing of this church, see the frontispiece to Vol. ii. of Pearson's Memoir of Dr. Buchanan.

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whole had a look of extreme neatness and cleanliness. The padre was a very young man, of respectable appearance, habited, like all the Syro-Roman priests, in a white cassock, and black cap. He gave the party no new information, except that he used a Popish catechism in Malayalim, printed at Rome.

Bishop Middleton's arrival at Kotim was delayed, by various accidents, till after sunset. The Syrian bishop and his catanars had for some hours been anxiously expecting him; and when he came, he was conducted by torch-light to the college and seminary, in the midst of tom-toms and other country music; and under arches of flowers, which had been constructed for the occasion. The Syrian prelate received his brother of Calcutta in a small room, with scarcely any other furniture than his bed, which was covered with red velvet, and a chintz canopy, so as to form a sofa, or couch, on which he placed Bishop Middleton on one side of him. He himself sat in an old arm-chair, and Archdeacon Barnes in another. He was dressed in red silk; a golden chain, a cross of chrystal, and his mitre, lay on the bed. The confined apartment was soon filled by catanars; the window was small, and the heat quite intolerable, aggravated as it was by numerous lamps of cocoa-nut oil. The Syrian bishop, observing the distress of his visitors, requested several of the bystanders

to withdraw, and ordered two men to set the punkah in motion. A long conversation then commenced between the two bishops; which, however, was of no great importance with respect to any fresh information which it procured. From motives of delicacy Bishop Middleton was anxious to avoid all appearance of importunate curiosity, and to prevent the conference from taking the turn of an inquisitive examination. Mar Dionysius confirmed what had before been asserted by the catanars, that the Liturgy then in use was in conformity with one agreed on at the council of Nice, and had been that of St. James, St. Joseph, or St. Simon. He did not seem to be aware that their MS. New Testament had some of the Nestorian readings; and when Bishop Middleton noticed one or two, the metropolitan said, that he supposed the text must have been corrupted at Rome; and seemed to believe all the Syro-Romans to be Nestorians! After all, however, he said, with much truth, that the difference which Bishop Middleton had pointed out was only verbal, and involved nothing essential. According to his account, they had no catechism regularly authorized by their church. The list of their canonical books is in verse, which the catanars chant in a sort of recitative. It does not materially differ from our own. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah are considered as one. The rest of this interesting conversation

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related to matters which have been already introduced; and, during the whole of it, Bishop Middleton was occupied in taking copious memoranda. When it was finished, the metropolitan bade him an affectionate farewell, and directed some of the catanars to conduct the Bishop through the college. This seminary was established chiefly by the Church Missionary Society, aided by the influence of Sir Thomas Munro. The building is a quadrangle, in which the apartments open into a verandah, or covered gallery, which runs round the whole of the interior. The number of students then on the establishment were about 200: and they are dispersed through the country as they are wanted by the churches. In one of these apartments, Mar Philoxenus, the other bishop, suddenly made his appearance. He welcomed them very courteously; and solicited the good offices of Bishop Middleton with Mr. Pearson, the judge and magistrate of Calicut, for his protection from pillage and annoyance by certain Mahometans in the vicinity. But the bishop earnestly requested supplies not only of the Gospels, in Syriac, but of the whole Bible. A greater blessing, they said, could not be conferred on the Syrian Church.

From the college the Bishop was conducted by torch-light, in the midst of tom-toms and bagpipes, to the church of Kotim, a tolerably spacious structure of plain exterior, but abundantly deco-

rated within by paintings on the walls. After a hasty examination of this building the Bishop retired to his boat, on the benches of which he passed the night. The next morning he reached Alepie, and there received a visit from three catanars, who communicated the following additional particulars. At their ordination the Syrian priests engage to observe the canons of the council of Nice. These canons, however, always remain in the custody of the bishop, and are never seen by the catanars till the moment of subscription. They have, consequently, been without the advantage of seeing the formulary of their faith constantly before them; and hence, probably, it is that the Church has been open to the incursions of erroneous doctrine. It has been mentioned above, that the Epistle and Gospel are translated into Malayalim, and explained from the altar: it was now added, that on great festivals a much ampler explanation is delivered, not from the altar, but from the rails, or *septum*. Penance being one of their sacraments, they have certain days of purification attached to it. A purification is likewise performed in every house during Lent; and it further appeared, that this sort of lustration is administered whenever it is required: and that at the end of this rite, as well as of every fast, or private vow, there follows an entertainment, which bears a considerable resemblance to the

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ancient agapæ, or love feasts. The Eucharist is not administered at extreme unction; and when it is given to sick persons, it is first consecrated in the church, and carried in procession; the people when they meet it testify great respect, but do not kneel before it: the procession most usually takes place very early in the morning.

This was the last conference which Bishop Middleton held with any of the Syrian clergy. His conversations and enquiries among them have been somewhat circumstantially related, in order to exhibit the manner in which he was compelled to collect the fragments of information respecting their customs, practices, and doctrines. In that country, it will of course be recollected, the access to such information was infinitely more circuitous and difficult than with us, where authentic publications, on almost every subject, are always at hand to supply the intelligence required. Nothing was to be done here, but by laborious and persevering examination of individuals; and the difficulty was aggravated by an occasional want of agreement in their accounts. In some instances the discrepancy may have only been apparent, and may have arisen from the imperfect mode of communication through an interpreter. In other instances, it may have been the natural consequence of the defective education of the clergy, and of the

want of articles, or confessions of faith, or authoritative manuals of doctrine, to which they could confidently and readily refer. On comparing the above representations with those of La Croze, it will immediately be perceived that there are some particulars in which they are at variance; and that, if his statements be correct, a considerable degeneracy must have taken place in the Syrian Church, since the period of the Portuguese intrusion. Upwards of two centuries ago, we are told, the Syrians knew but three sacraments; they now acknowledge seven. The appellation of Mother of God then sounded in their ears like blasphemy; but that this title duly belongs to the Holy Virgin, is now an article of their belief. Confession was then unknown. It is now regularly practised at stated seasons of the year. The accounts of their original faith tell us nothing of solitary masses; but these are now, as we have seen, among the most valued privileges of the clergy, and, as they themselves confessed, would alone be sufficient to withhold them from any union with the Church of England. These symptoms of decline from the original purity, would seem to indicate that the leaven of Romish corruption has partially wrought itself even into that portion of the mass which never could be brought into communion with Rome: and the evil may, possibly, have been aggravated by the general

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apathy which is often incident to a long continued state of national depression and adversity. We have seen that the more enlightened among them were ready to deplore the slenderness of their knowledge, and were extremely anxious for ampler means of improvement; that the humbler orders are left without any regular instruction; and that, in some parts, the congregation listens with equal indifference to the Romish or the Syrian mass. With regard to the question whether they are Jacobite or Nestorian, it is, surely, the least important of any that can be agitated respecting them. To them, there is great reason to believe, these words convey but very scanty meaning, as indicative of doctrinal differences. They hold, as we do, that the Saviour is very God and very man; and the subtleties which may be spun out of that article of their faith are, probably, much too fine for their intellectual or spiritual powers of vision. The terms Jacobite and Nestorian, therefore, are with them, in all probability, little more than mere names of party. The Jacobite is one that holds allegiance to the Primate of Antioch; while the Nestorian acknowledges only the Catholic of Mosul. At all events, whatever may have been their involuntary deviations from the precise line of orthodoxy, it is gratifying to be assured of one thing,—that they appear to be, on the whole, a

moral, guileless, simple-hearted people, and to form a striking contrast both with Papists and Hindoos. In the midst of their poverty and oppression, they retain a steady attachment to the religion of their forefathers, and are extremely solicitous to receive instruction. Nothing could exceed the joy with which the printed copies of the Syriac Gospels, presented by Bishop Middleton and Archdeacon Barnes, were received by the bishop and his clergy, or their impatience for a similar supply, comprehending the whole Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Whether they will ever be brought to symbolise exactly with the Church of England is, indeed, very doubtful: but there can be no doubt that they are prepared for an intimate and friendly communion with us, and that any good offices to them must redound most signally to the benefit and honour of our common Christianity in India.

As a supplement to the above account, extracts are here subjoined from a letter addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Bailey, Fenn, and Baker, of the Church Missionary Society, to Lieutenant-Colonel Newall, political resident, Travancore. This letter is dated from Cotyam, or Kotim, the Syrian College, 13th of March, 1822, about four years and a half later than the visit of Bishop Middleton; and its object is to obtain assistance towards the execution of certain

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plans, then in contemplation, for the benefit of this interesting people. The following statements must powerfully contribute to strengthen the sympathies of every Protestant in their behalf.

"We beg leave to call your attention to a few of the causes which have led to their decline. The breaking up of the petty sovereignties created by Cheram Perumal, through the influence of the Rajahs of Travancore and Cochin on one side, and of Hyder Ally and of the European powers on the other, cannot but be conceived to have produced a sensible alteration in the condition of the Christians, whose political importance rested entirely upon the immunities and privileges they enjoyed under that remarkable system. From being a compact body, forming either separate principalities of themselves, or aristocracies, considerable as to numbers and influence among the petty states through which they were distributed, they now formed but a small integral part of a large community, in which their consequence was left to depend solely on the opinion which their former influence had created. But independently of these causes, (which apply equally to that very remarkable body, the Jews of Cochin,) there are others which, in a more serious and peculiar manner, affect the Syrian Christians. These causes are all to be referred to the appearance of the

Roman Catholics on these shores, and the contest which this Church has consequently had to sustain, for three centuries, against the unremitted vigilance, the force, and intrigue, of an usurping and intolerant hierarchy. The preponderating influence of the Portuguese with the heathen government was all employed in forwarding the designs of the Romish emissaries: while, through the system adopted, either from policy or principle, by the Protestant states, the Syrian Church has been left unaided by any corresponding influence in the opposite direction. And the consequences of all this upon its moral and ecclesiastical condition have been indeed most deplorable. Mutual fears, suspicions, and jealousies, fomented by their enemies, and terminating in a fatal and apparently irreconcilable schism in their own body,—the destruction of their best ancient monuments, during the short calamitous interval in which they were all nominally subjected to the papal power,—together with the interruption, both then and since, of that regular intercourse with Syria, on the feeling of which depended that peculiar spirit and individuality of character for which they were formerly so distinguished;—these may be noted as the more general and direct consequences, from which others of a more particular nature, and more immediately striking the attention, have proceeded. Such

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as,—the withdrawment, from conscious weakness and want of favour, from all share in the public history of their country, in which they formerly acted so distinguished a part,—the increasing ignorance of the clergy,—their growing unacquaintance with the only language in which the principles of Divine knowledge were contained, and their consequent inability to become acquainted with these principles, far less to communicate them to the people,—the disuse of education,—the introduction of many superstitious practices unknown to their ancestors,—and a gradual verging towards many of the customs and some of the vices of the country.

"It is remarkable that, under all the causes of deterioration which have been mentioned, the character of the Syrian Christians should still present so many points of superiority. The duplicity and deceit, for which the natives of India are so proverbial, is not a feature of their character. On the contrary, they may be said to possess, in no small degree, the opposite virtues of honesty and plain dealing, accompanied with a peculiar simplicity of manner, which distinguishes them in the eyes of the stranger from the other inhabitants of the country. But we feel it would be needless to do more than hint at a subject which we humbly conceive cannot have escaped your observation.

"With regard to the actual number of these

people, it is difficult to arrive at any exact conclusion. It appears, however, most probable, as well from the reason of the case, as from the accounts of Anquetil du Perron and others, that they were a much more numerous body of people in former times than we find them to be at present. They now themselves reckon up eighty-eight churches belonging to their body; of which fifty-five have maintained their independence against the Roman pontiff. According to the most accurate estimate we have been able to form, the number of families belonging to these fifty-five churches amounts, at the lowest computation, to 13,000. The majority of these are poor, and support themselves by daily labour: others employ themselves in merchandise and agriculture. Though many among them are most highly respectable, especially those of the class termed Tarragan; yet there are none who can justly be styled men of property. There are very few indeed among them possessed of a property to the amount of 5,000 rupees.

"The number of officiating priests, commonly called catanars, is 144. These are wholly supported by the offerings of the laity, on festival days, and on the administration of the occasional rites of the Church, which, for the most part, afford but a very scanty support: and in a very few instances do the monthly offerings, received by a catanar, exceed five rupees. They are gene-

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rally of the best families; and consequently, upon their character, as to morals and information, depends, in a great degree, that of the districts in which they reside.

"A residence of nearly five years in the midst of them, in the habit of the most familiar and uninterrupted intercourse with the dignitaries of their Church, the whole body of the clergy, and the society at large, emboldens us in expressing the full conviction of our minds, that they will not prove unworthy of your favour, nor fail in answering any degree of culture which may be bestowed on them. Members of a Church venerable for her great antiquity, and which retains as her language the very dialect of our Lord and his Apostles,—using a version of the Scriptures made by apostolical men,—miraculously preserved during a succession of ages in the very midst of a heathen population, and in spite of all the violent and unceasing attacks of the Romish hierarchy, a monument of the truth of Christianity, and of the protecting care of the Most High,—they seem in a peculiar manner to call for the sympathy and assistance of a Christian and Protestant nation. And we cannot but consider all these claims as coming with a peculiar force on the members of the Anglican Church: a Church which, retaining, as no other Protestant communion has retained, those features of primitive custom and discipline that unite her with all

the unreformed Churches of apostolical original in the east and west, has at the same time suffered equally with any from the anti-Christian domination of the court of Rome; and having escaped pure from that infection and that persecution, is best prepared to feel for those who are yet groaning under the effects of both. And these circumstances of common interest with our Protestant Episcopal Church, are not wholly unknown nor unfelt by our Syrian brethren."

At Alepiè, the Bishop was met by the Rev. Mr. Norten, who, together with Captain Gordon, the conservator of the Rajah's forests, and his assistant, Mr. Walcot, were the only Europeans in the place. Mr. Norten was one of the missionaries appointed by the Church Missionary Society, and appears to have possessed a most remarkable influence over the Syrian laity in the neighbourhood; for he succeeded in procuring from them, for their catanars, more punctual fees and payments than they themselves were able to obtain. He further stated, that the metropolitan had granted him his license to preach in the Syrian churches, as soon as he should have made sufficient progress in Malayalim; a privilege of which Bishop Middleton recommended a very cautious use. Experience had already shewn that it was not impossible to scatter discord among the Syrians; and the ministrations of a stranger not intimately familiar with their

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idiom, either of speech or thought, might very seriously aggravate the evil.

From Mr. Norten and Mr. Walcot he learned many interesting particulars respecting the adjacent country. The forests in Malabar, it should be understood, are royalties, under the superintendence of officers appointed by the East India Company; and from them the dock-yards at Bombay are supplied with teak. Of these forests Mr. Walcot was deputy conservator; and being frequently carried by his public duties to the neighbouring hills, was enabled to speak of the habits and character of the mountaineers. He described them as a wild, inhospitable, and inaccessible race, who declined all intercourse with Europeans, and who, to avoid the approach of strangers, would retreat to their own hiding places. Some dealings, indeed, they have with their civilized neighbours; but these are carried on wholly by barter, and conducted in a manner which remarkably indicates their distrustful and unsocial habits: they deposit whatever they wish to dispose of in some well-known spot, and then retire; returning afterwards to take away what is left in exchange for it. The prejudice and bigotry of the Brahmins in this region of Malabar exceeded all that had been heard of in other parts. They approach some of their temples by ways wholly sacred to themselves, separate paths being made for the use of coolies and

other profane persons; and so rigidly do they adhere to their rules of ceremonial pollution, that a quantity of rice, deposited in a pagoda, was held to be contaminated by the presence of an English traveller, who accidentally took shelter there, when overtaken by a storm. They even had the almost incredible effrontery to demand payment of him for the whole quantity of provision which he had thus unwillingly and ignorantly rendered unclean, and no longer fit for the consumption of the heavenly men;—a requisition which, it is needless to say, was resisted, and which it does not appear that they were able to enforce.

CHAPTER XII.

The Bishop arrives at Colombo—Reception by Sir Robert Brownrigg—Native converts—Temple at Challangcabash —Promising aspect of Christianity in Ceylon—The Bishop's sermon in the Fort—Letter to Mr. Watson—to Mr. Ward —to Mr. T. Courteney—Rev. Walter Williams appointed chaplain at Cochin—Encouraging prospect of usefulness there—His removal by the Madras government—Letter of Mr. Rich from Bagdad—Letter of the Bishop on the death of Mr. Tolfrey.

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On the 16th of October the Bishop and his companions embarked for Colombo, in Ceylon, which he reached on the 21st. He was received with due honours by the governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, and his staff. On the following morning he was attended by the civil and military gentlemen of the settlement, and by several Protestant teachers. Nothing could exceed the unremitting courtesy of the governor, who studied to make the Bishop's visit agreeable, by the exhibition of interesting objects, and the introduction of worthy and estimable characters. Of the persons thus brought to his notice, the most remarkable were two converts to Christ-

ianity, the one from the religion of Bhudd, the other from that of Mahomet. The Bhuddist, John Naderis de Silva, was formerly a priest. His appearance and conversation indicated a high degree of intelligence. Among other subjects, he spoke of the æra of the Bhuddists, which, according to his mode of reckoning, seemed to commence about 500 years before the Christian, conformably to the received notion that Bhudd was contemporary with Pythagoras. The Christian name of the Mahometan convert was Theophilus; who appeared to derive great satisfaction from a remark of the Bishop, that, although Mahomet professed to come with a *revelation* from God, he had in truth made no *revelation* at all: for that, with the exception of what relates personally to Mahomet himself, the Koran contains absolutely nothing which deserves to be called new.

The Bhuddist temple at Challangcabash, seven miles distant from Colombo, was perhaps the most remarkable object which the Bishop had an opportunity of seeing. There is nothing in the appearance of the building to arrest the attention: externally it differs little from an ordinary dwelling-house. The party were received by the priests in their yellow robes, having the right arm and shoulder bare, conformably to the costume in which Bhudd himself is usually represented in his images. At this

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place the figure of him is very ancient, (upwards of 400 years old,) and is fixed against the wall in a small room, having a table before it, which is kept constantly covered with flowers. From the head there appears to issue something like a flame; which, however, the priests describe merely as a head-leaf,—an ornament, the import of which was not explained. The countenance of this figure was, possibly, designed to express sublime abstraction; it was, however, round and unmeaning, and actually expressed nothing, except the total absence both of thought and passion. In an adjoining apartment, however, there is another image, the face of which has an expression of sleepy voluptuousness, rather than contemplative serenity. At the back of the temple is a spacious building, called the daguba, which is said to contain various portions of the mortal fabric of Bhudd himself, distributed through different parts of the edifice; and in front of the temple is a room where the priests instruct the people by preaching, or, as they call it, by reading the Bana. Near this apartment the Bishop was shewn certain grants of land, engraved on stone; one of these documents was not *read*, but *chanted*, by one of the priests, and a translation of it afterwards exhibited.

The remaining objects of the Bishop's notice, were the Wesleyan mission, who were printing the discourses and miracles of our Lord, in Cin-

galese; the Malabar school, established and supported by Lady Brownrigg; the seminary for the education of the Cingalese; the Christian village of Galkrese, where the governor was at that time building a church; and, lastly, the military and orphan schools.

This visit to Ceylon his lordship always remembered as among the most gratifying incidents of his life. Here was an island, prodigally gifted by Providence, under the immediate and absolute dominion of the British crown, ruled by a governor who had no other principle of action but the temporal and eternal welfare of the people; and, through his paternal care, rapidly advancing in civilization and Christianity. The diffusion of knowledge and religion was here spoken of with as little reserve as it is in England. The establishment of schools—the building of churches—the circulation of books—the conversion of the natives—all designs, in short, for the moral and intellectual improvement of this dependency—were going forward with a *free course*. Here were no terrors or prejudices to put a spell upon the birth of noble and benevolent enterprises;—here were no scruples lest the native superstition should be alarmed into violent reaction against our enlightened and charitable purposes. The character of the people seemed of itself to make all such apprehensions contemptible. Whether

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from natural temperament, or from a more liberal intercourse with the Europeans, they appeared to be open, cheerful, and confiding; without a suspicion that any sinister or unfriendly motive could be lurking beneath the fair words and kindly deeds of their benefactors. Their very countenance and demeanour shewed that they were without jealousy or misgiving. In the neighbourhood of the governor's country residence at Mount Lavinia, more particularly, the Bishop was deeply gratified in observing that the inhabitants, instead of gazing on the party with a stare of vacant apathy, ruffled only by occasional alarm, appeared to give the strangers a cheerful and smiling welcome, and to recognise the governor as a personal friend. It is hardly to be imagined that the Bishop should look upon this delightful spectacle without being tempted to place in melancholy contrast with it the vast scene of his own interminable labours, the difficulties which were sown thickly in every region of the soil he had to subdue, and the comparative destitution in which he was left to conflict with every form of resistance. He could hardly fail to see how enviable a lot would be that of a bishop of Colombo alone, without any greater extent of diocese to distract and to oppress him! The governor, indeed, expressed himself extremely anxious that the island should be placed under

his spiritual jurisdiction; and from what he saw of the natives, and of their seeming love of order and regularity, he was persuaded that the episcopal function might be most beneficially exercised among them. There could be little reason to doubt that they would readily embrace the communion of our Church, if they had constantly before their eyes a person invested with high authority, who might consecrate their places of worship, confer holy orders on their clergy, and administer the rite of confirmation to their youth. Ceylon was, indeed, subsequently *added* to the diocese of Calcutta: but this was doing little more than mocking the island with a glimpse of the benefits to be derived from episcopal discipline, while it increased a load already sufficient to crush any human energy!

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The two colonial chaplains then residing in Colombo, were the honourable and reverend T. Twisleton, subsequently the first archdeacon of Colombo, and the reverend G. Bisset. From them the Bishop derived every possible assistance and information; and it is satifactory to record, that not only the clergy, but the missionaries of all denominations, (the Americans alone excepted,) paid their respects to the Bishop, and thankfully received his suggestions and advice. The Wesleyan missionaries indeed, attend regularly the service of the Church, and

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were present when he delivered a discourse at the Fort Church in Colombo. His lordship had the further gratification to leave behind him one permanent memorial of his transitory connection with Ceylon, in establishing a committee of that venerable Society, whose honour and prosperity never were long absent from his thoughts, and which now was in full connection with all the chief stations in India. The benefits to be derived from a depôt here of the Society's religious publications, may be well understood from the fact, that the Auxiliary Bible Society, had been under the necessity of printing portions of the Gospels, as tracts, for the use of schools and native Christians; and so strong a conviction was felt of the necessity of circulating explanatory religious treatises, to prepare the minds of the people for more easily understanding the Holy Scriptures, that a subscription had been opened and a fund established for this purpose [1].

It may be proper to notice, in this place, that Ceylon, in one respect, offers some peculiar facilities for the establishment of Christianity, beyond those which are to be found in continental India: the distinction of castes, it is true, is in full action there, but the institution is not so intimately connected with the national religion,

[1] See Reports of the Colombo Bible Society.

as in other parts of India. By embracing the Gospel a Cingalese does not incur that dreadful excommunication, which frowns upon the Hindoo when he deserts the faith of his fathers. With this people, the distinction is wholly and entirely civil; but, in this view, it is most rigidly observed. Nothing can be more impassable than the gulf which is fixed between the different ranks of society in Ceylon. In no country on earth, perhaps, is the spirit of aristocracy more arrogant and more intolerant. In the school, and, with regret it must be added, even *in the Church*, the [1] Vellales and Chalias will not sit together; and the lower classes are forbidden to assume the privileges of wearing the comb, covering their houses with tiles, or of having the tom-tom beat at their weddings! These are odious distinctions, from which the genius of Christianity is as utterly abhorrent, as it is from the inhuman antipathies by which the various shades of tropical complexion are proscribed in the western world. But if the spirit of a benevolent and enlightened policy, should continue to preside over the destinies of this island, it is probable that these absurd prejudices,—allowed to

[1] The Vellales are of the highest native rank in caste; the Chalias are supposed to have been originally foreigners, and are chiefly employed as cinnamon-peelers and palankeen-bearers.

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remain under the wretched system by which the Dutch increased their number of nominal Christians,—may, in the course of a few generations, retire before the mild and beneficent light of Gospel truth.

It is well known that the current language spoken by the burghers of Colombo is corrupted Portuguese. This numerous and respectable class of people had been in a great degree excluded from the benefit of joining in public worship, through the want of a Protestant Church, in which the service should be performed in a language intelligible to them. Through the exertions of Mr. Twisleton, with the assistance of government, a neat substantial church was erected for their use, which was opened for the first time about six weeks before the Bishop's arrival. A reprint of the Prayer Book in Portuguese had been undertaken also by Mr. Twisleton, to which the Bishop gave every encouragement. The Tamul translation of the Prayer Book is used in this island by the Malabar native Christians,—and towards the expense of re-printing it at Madras, the Ceylon government contributed 500 pagodas. The Bishop now requested his name to be added for 100 pagodas.

On Sunday the 27th of October, 1816, the Bishop preached in the church at the fort, from Isaiah lxii. 1. In this discourse, after dwelling solemnly and powerfully on the topics naturally

suggested by the text, he concludes in a strain which most happily combines a spirit of genuine Catholic liberality, with an uncompromising fidelity to the Church whose orders he bore. It were not easy, he observes, to find a Christian assembly more capable than this, of feeling the sentiments I have laboured to impress. The efforts made within the limits of this government for propagating the faith of *righteousness and salvation* are, probably, in proportion to the means afforded, without a parallel in the modern history of the East. At the same time it was to be remembered, that the variety of Christian persuasions which circumstances had introduced into this island, exposed the cause of the Gospel to peculiar hazard. Our national Church, he justly contended, had no tenets, either of doctrine or of discipline, which might not be traced to the primitive ages of the Gospel; and it was gratifying to reflect that the moderation of her principles rendered her the fittest basis on which the fabric of the Christian faith might be reared in these regions. He abjured the thought of asking any class of men to abandon their deep and deliberate convictions; but he held it right to remind them, that the time would come when converts would *compare* their opinions; and if they then should find among the professors of the truth such contradictions, as usually belong to the character of falsehood, they would either relapse into their

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former unbelief, or cause divisions in the Church of Christ. My council, therefore, he adds, is that of the Apostle :—" *Take heed lest this liberty of yours become a stumbling-block to them that are weak*[1]." " *Speak the same thing; be joined together in the same mind, and the same judgment*[2]." And I offer it not from any conviction that it is already needed, but in the way of prevention, and in the spirit of conciliation and love.

Finally, he reminded them that the most fatal discrepancy which a native could detect would be a disagreement between the doctrines and the practice of our religion. The righteousness of our faith must not resemble the flashing of a meteor which is gazed at for a moment, and then is lost in darkness. It must be a pure and placid light, issuing from the sanctuary of a heart devoted to God, and enlightened by his Holy Spirit. He concluded by praying that the Almighty would make them instruments of revealing to those who were still in darkness, the glory of our Zion, so that it might go forth from that favoured spot, and be visible through the Eastern world.

It must, doubtless, have been signally gratifying to the Bishop to find that this friendly and charitable counsel was received in a spirit of corresponding kindness, and that the Wesleyans united with the governor and the clergy

[1] 1 Cor. viii. 9. [2] Ibid. i. 10.

in a request that the sermon might be printed. On the 30th of October, the Bishop embarked for Calcutta, and a few days after his embarkation, addressed a long letter to his friend Mr. Watson. The following portions of this most interesting and instructive despatch will give a comprehensive view of the general results of his primary visitation, as contemplated by himself.

TO JOSHUA WATSON, ESQ.

At sea, 100 miles eastward of Ceylon,
November 8, 1816.

Since I left Madras I have travelled over land through the whole of the south of India by Cape Comorin to Cochin; thence by sea to Bombay, where I remained some months, and thence to the spot where I now am; after touching at Goa, and visiting the convents and churches at Cananore, where I confirmed; at Cochin, where I visited the Syrian Christians, and was among them ten days; and at Colombo, in Ceylon, where I also passed ten days, and which place I left ten days ago. The history of such a visitation would fill a volume; I have seen, perhaps, every thing in India which is at all important with reference to Christianity.

As to the general effects of the visitation, I trust that it has not been altogether without the blessing of God. I have not converted either

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Mussulmans or heathens, but I have countenanced and encouraged others who are so employed. I have "set things in order" among our own people; I have confirmed and delivered a suitable exhortation to about 1,000 people, mostly adults; I have made our religion a little more visible; I have established district committees of our Society; and, what perhaps is not the least important, I have made myself acquainted with the state of India in all points which respect the maintenance and propagation of religion. I hope that these and similar effects have made my labours not wholly useless; and I am well convinced that no man can perform the duties of a Bishop in this country with any great benefit to the cause of religion, who is either too old or too indolent to travel, and to encounter the inconveniences and fatigues of living in a camp in this melting climate, or of going to sea. I cannot promise myself health and strength to make such an exertion many times; but while I am able I shall think it my duty to pass a great part of every third year as I have now done the last ten months. As my stay at Bombay was so long after consecrating the church, (which was still unconsecrated, though it had been used 100 years), I had frequent opportunities of preaching, about three Sundays out of four, during my stay; and I also recollected that bishops should keep hospi-

tality: the effect of both has been, that I have left behind me a favourable impression of episcopacy, in which view principally I value the testimonies of respect afforded me by the inhabitants of that settlement. On the last two Sundays I preached to them on 1 Thess. iii. 12, 13, an hour each time, and scarcely any person was absent. On the morning of my departure, the governor and members of council called upon me to bid me farewell; and the clergy and many of the principal inhabitants assembled at the pier-head to wish me a good voyage, and to see me safely embarked. At Goa I saw the viceroy, who received me with great distinction, but I saw nothing of the archbishop. He is, I understand, a very respectable man, and I should have had no scruple about the interchange of common civilities; however, though my arrival was as well known in Goa as any thing which has happened there these hundred years, the archbishop made no overtures by sending to enquire how I did, or to welcome me in the usual way; and I could not, with any propriety, make the first advances.

Of my visit to the Syrian Christians you may perhaps hear more hereafter, as I am in possession of more precise information concerning them than has yet been given to the public; and I am actually at work upon their Liturgy. I have now before me in Syriac their offices of baptism and

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marriage, and the services of all the great festivals, and I have employed their scribes to make a copy of their whole ritual and formularies, which, with what I collected on the spot, will tell me all that can be known concerning the Syriac Church in Malabar. Since I have been in India, I have been placed in many singular situations; but what think you of an *English Bishop* in a country house belonging to a *Hindoo Rajah*, sitting at the head of a table, and examining a body of Syrian clergy, as to their tenets and articles of faith? In this situation I was placed about a month since; twelve of the clergy and four learned laymen, by the direction of the Syrian archbishop, assembled at a place in my route; and having taken their seats upon mats for want of chairs, answered interrogatories previously drawn up by me, and many others, which the course of enquiry suggested. This lasted for two hours and a half; besides which I had several interviews with smaller parties. *Upon the whole I am more disposed to admire the knowledge of these people, than to complain of their ignorance, considering their utter want of books and education:* and my regard for the honour of our Society induces me to wish that I could make it the instrument of improving this singular people. They are very ready to receive instruction; and my visit to them,—though I did not propose, having no such authority, to unite

them with the Church of England,—has evidently had the effect of teaching them to look up to us, and of preparing them to receive favourably any thing that we might do for them; the danger is, lest while we endeavour to instruct them, we should divide them, and thus drive one half of them into the arms of the Church of Rome. The resident at Travancore takes a great interest in the Syrians, and supports them with all his influence, which is very great; and he will not admit any missionaries into the country but those of the Church of England.

In this country,—where every thing is done by correspondence, and where every thing is so irregular and anomalous in ecclesiastical matters, that I am without a guide,—business which requires immediate attention keeps me constantly employed, and hardly leaves me leisure to mature plans of improvement, especially considering the oppressive feeling occasioned by the heat, and the almost incessant interruptions to which I am liable at Calcutta.

But to return to my narrative,—

Hardly any thing in India is so interesting as Ceylon. I went thither from an invitation given me long since by the governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg; of whom, both in his public capacity, as well as on account of his private worth, I cannot speak too warmly. He devotes his whole time and attention to the happiness and improvement

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of the people committed to his care. Christianity is making a slow, but, I think, a sure progress, under his auspices. He is building churches, and founding schools, and providing for converts who make any sacrifices by the conversion, as ought to be done every where. To a person who has lived some time on the continent of India, it is quite surprising to hear people talking publicly of promoting Christianity, just as you do in England; but still the instruments by which this object is to be obtained, are mostly persons not of the Established Church. There are at Colombo, two English chaplains, both zealous men, and, I really believe, well attached to the establishment, Mr. Twisleton and Mr. Bisset; the latter is also a scholar; I think, upon the whole, the most scholar-like man I have met with in the country, where classical knowledge is, however, very rare. But the rest,—with the exception of two or three chaplains, at distant stations, of whom I know nothing,—are missionaries, Wesleyans, Baptists, Portuguese, Papists, and American Puritans. The Wesleyans are highly spoken of, and are the most efficient; both they and the Baptists attend the service of the Church pretty regularly; but the Americans, the only persons of a religious character who did not call to pay their respects to me, are, from all I heard, the most fanatical of their tribe, and talk in a strain which has not been heard in

England since the time of the roundheads. All the Protestants, however, act together with tolerable cordiality, and the clergy countenance them, so far as they can, without making improper concessions. In this manner the work is going on; and otherwise it could not go on at all.

It is high time that Ceylon should have a bishop; and the governor and clergy do me the honour to think that it should be made subject to the bishoprick of Calcutta. A representation to this effect is immediately to be sent to his Majesty's government; though possibly there may be a demur, on account of the expense, as the island is yet by no means a source of revenue, though it is rapidly improving; and some little addition of income would be necessary, if it were merely to enable me to meet additional demands. As it is, I have little to spare; as the calls upon me, (which, however, were not considered), are much greater than upon persons having twice my salary; and they are calls which I do not wish to evade, nor could I evade them without renouncing the character in which I ought to appear.

At Ceylon, the Bible Society was established before I left England; and as by means of committees it embraces objects not within the reach of the Society, (considered as a Bible Society), such as the distribution of tracts, it in some

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measure resembles our Society in its objects and designs. In fact, it is admitted, both at Colombo and Bombay, that the mere distribution of Bibles, without note or comment, among people who can receive the Sacred Scriptures only in small portions, and that with a great deal of explanation, is almost useless. Still, however, prayer-books in Ceylon, as in every part of India, are extremely scarce, and so are school-books; and, therefore, I suggested the propriety of having a committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The attempt, I understand, was made some time ago, in consequence of a suggestion from the Bishop of London, but some how or other it failed. I talked over the business with the governor and clergy, and they gave me reason to hope that the measure will now be carried. The committee, however, will necessarily be upon a small scale: the European population at Colombo is very limited . . . . . Still, however, I shall rejoice to find that Ceylon has its Bartlett's Buildings as well as the three presidencies; and beyond that I do not know in what manner I can extend its influence. If the committee be established, I think I shall probably avail myself of my credit with the Society in printing a Cingalese prayer-book. It is much wanted, and would be creditable to us as well as useful; and unless it be done in this way, I do not see how it can be accomplished at all;

I have engaged a competent person to make the translation without any expense. The prayer-book is printing at Madras in Tamul, towards which the government gave 200*l.* and I myself forty; and one from Ceylon is on board my ship on its way to Calcutta, to be printed; so that if the work be well done, the doctrines of our Church will be sufficiently accessible in Tamul or Malabar.

While I was in Ceylon, I preached on Isaiah lxii. 1, with particular reference to the circumstances of the island, and I ventured, in a strain of great moderation, to advert to the discordant tenets of the missionaries, and to recommend to them (they were all at church) to approximate as nearly as they could to the Church of England, which I represented as better suited, from the moderation of her principles, to receive converts than any of the Churches now existing in the world. So far was this from giving offence, that the Wesleyan missionaries concurred in the request of the governor and clergy, that I would print my sermon . . . . . Pray exhort our common friends of the Church of England, to be frequent in their remembrances of one, who, far removed from them, is labouring with his best, though humble ability, in the same blessed cause; nor could any other consideration reconcile me to so many privations.

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This valuable and important communication was soon followed by another to Mr. Ward, which, though it touches upon several of the same subjects, could not be omitted without injury to the writer. It may here be observed, once for all, that the correspondence of the Bishop with this gentleman, is always interesting for its tone of cheerfulness and hope. When he is in communication with those honoured fellow-labourers, who, like himself, were more immediately engaged in advancing the sacred interests of the Church, his mind appears often to be painfully oppressed, by the awful magnitude of the cause, and by the formidable opposition frequently arrayed against it. But no sooner does he begin to converse with his familiar companion, than he seems to cast away the burden of his discouragements. He *shakes himself from the dust*, and puts on *the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness*. The clouds roll away from before him, and the sunshine breaks forth upon the prospect in a manner delightful and refreshing to every Christian heart.

At sea, in the Bay of Bengal, 200 miles from the Mouth of the Ganges, Nov. 23, 1816.

My dear Friend,

As on my arrival at Calcutta, after an absence of nearly twelve months, I cannot expect much

leisure, I will endeavour to have a letter ready for the first ship that may sail, leaving it open to announce, if Providence preserve us, that we are safe on shore. We left Bombay on the 17th of Sept. in the *Aurora*, on board which I am now writing. From the interest which you take in my welfare, and in what is of infinitely more importance, the welfare of the cause of religion, you would have been gratified, if you could have witnessed my departure from Bombay: every where, indeed, in the course of my visitation, I have met with great respect: but my long stay at Bombay brought the people more about me, and established between us a close connection. On the morning of my departure, the governor and council called on me at my house to bid me farewell, and the clergy and a great number of the principal inhabitants assembled at the pier, under an intensely hot sun, to wish me a good voyage. It seems that my residence there was very acceptable, and I hope it has done some good. The newspapers, in announcing my departure, have said all the good of me that they could imagine, and have represented me rather as what I wish to be, than what I am. From Bombay we proceeded to Goa, where the viceroy received me with great distinction, assigned me a guard of honour, and directed one of his principal officers to conduct me to Old Goa, and to shew me

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whatever I wished to see. The scenery about this once famed capital of Portuguese India is some of the finest I ever beheld, and the churches and convents are superb. Nothing, however, can compensate the want of good government, and industry, and knowledge; and with regard to these, Goa is a blank in the map. Old Goa once, it is said, had a population of 300,000 souls; but now not a human being but the monks and nuns. The spot is so unhealthy that it is dangerous for a stranger to sleep there a single night, and I did not observe any person who appeared to be older than myself. The libraries are very poor, and disappointed me exceedingly. The Inquisition is abolished, and the rooms are now converted into warehouses. From some cause or other I saw nothing of the archbishop, which I rather regretted, as he has the character of being a man of great worth and respectability.

At Cochin we staid ten days, to enable me to complete my researches among the Syrian Christians. People were much pleased with what Buchanan told of the Syrian Churches; but all, which he has told, amounts to very little compared with what was to be known of them. I had, indeed, advantages, such probably as no private individual could command: all sources of information were thrown open to me, and all facilities were provided. Since I have been in

India I have been placed in various situations, which were sufficiently singular: but what think you of an English bishop sitting at the head of a table in a small country-house belonging to a Hindoo Rajah, and examining a body of Syrian clergy upon points of faith [1]? Twelve clergymen and four of the best informed of the laity attended at a given hour, to answer such questions as I might put to them; and these I had already prepared and copied into a book, into which I took down their answers. For want of chairs, the whole party, excepting myself, were seated on mats spread upon the floor: it would have formed a fine subject for a painting. The white dresses of the clergy are very becoming, and most of them had intelligent countenances, full of thought, and marked with a strong feeling of the novelty and interest of the scene. It lasted for two hours and a half, after which I dismissed them, as many of them came from a distance; but I had several other interviews with smaller parties, and also with the metropolitan, whom I visited at his residence and staid with him for two hours. My visit, indeed, to the latter was quite an adventure: I had appointed

[1] This has been mentioned before, nearly in the same words. But it is hoped that occasional repetitions of this nature will indulgently be excused. It has not been thought worth while to mutilate interesting letters for the purpose of avoiding them.

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twelve o'clock, but owing to a blunder, we passed the whole day in rowing up and down a lake to look for our interpreter, and the sun was nearly setting, when we had to quit the broad water to make our way up a narrow creek, four or five miles up which the metropolitan resides. The night was very dark, and the stream ran against us, narrow and shallow, and in many places overgrown with jungle: sometimes we stuck fast upon the ground, and sometimes in the trees. However, at eight o'clock at night we heard the distant sound of drums and pipes, and presently descried the bishop's residence, in a blaze of illumination, in honour of his long expected guest. After staying with him a short time I returned to my boat. By these means I possess a mass of curious particulars respecting as extraordinary a community as any perhaps in the world. If I can find leisure I shall put together something on the state of the Syrian Church; and with this view I have obtained a copy of their Liturgy in Syriac, and am hard at work upon it: but I know not what I shall do for Syriac types, which I shall want in a part of my version. I found but few books among them, (MSS.) but I have one, a folio volume of Hymns brought from Antioch, and a great curiosity. I sought in vain for one or two MSS., which probably they once possessed; but possibly I may obtain them from the ancient Mesopotamia,

where enquiry is making after them on my account. I wish very much to benefit these people, and I could not do it more effectually than by procuring one or two valuable Syriac works to be printed. On coming away I gave directions to have rice distributed among the inhabitants of the six or seven parishes which I visited; and for 25*l.* they were all, amounting to 4 or 5,000 people, to be maintained for a fortnight. Our voyage from Cochin was to Colombo in Ceylon; another spot of great interest in a Christian point of view; indeed more so, perhaps, than any thing on the continent of India. Christianity has there the countenance and encouragement of the government, and though its progress will not be rapid, it is, I think, certain. My stay there was for ten days, which were entirely occupied in receiving civilities, and giving audience to Christian teachers of almost every denomination, and to converts from all sorts of superstition. I visited the schools, as I have done every where; and I found time to write and to preach a sermon on Isaiah lxii. 1, with a particular application to Ceylon. The conduct of the governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, is above all praise: he devotes himself entirely to the happiness and improvement of the people under his government. A succession of four or five such governors, which is hardly to be expected, would make Ceylon a happy island, and an honour to the British

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crown. At present I have no jurisdiction there; but a representation, I understand, will immediately be made to his Majesty's government, of the advantage which the island would derive from being subject in ecclesiastical matters to the Bishop of Calcutta. If this arrangement should take place, I shall stop at Colombo in my triennial visits to Bombay, and reside there two or three months in every third year. It is a delightful island; the climate is more moderate, and the manners of the people more English, than any place I have visited. Our ten days glided away amidst the attentions we received, and the interesting objects presented to our notice: and the governor and Lady Brownrigg evidently parted from us with reluctance. The governor and all his staff accompanied me to the place of embarkation, and once more we put to sea. We had Adam's Peak in view for three days, and nearly a week elapsed before we got fairly round into the Bay of Bengal. A few days, if it please Providence, will carry us to Calcutta, and thus, my friend, I shall have completed the most extensive visitation ever made by an English bishop. I trust that God has blessed it with some fruits: if I have not converted either Hindoos or Mahometans, I have countenanced and encouraged those, who are so employed; I have made the Church of England a little more visible; I have put the clergy upon the alert; I

have confirmed and delivered a suitable exhortation to about 1000 persons; I have preached almost every Sunday where I have found churches; and I have acquired a better knowledge of India with respect to religion, than I could have done at Calcutta in a whole life. In short, I am convinced that a bishop in this country must be a man who can endure the inconveniences and fatigue of travel; his presence is required every where; for wherever he goes, he may do some good. How long I may be able to continue these exertions, God only knows; but while I have the ability, they must be made; and when I am unfit for further service I shall probably be permitted to retire. The term of fifteen years, at my time of life, is out of the question. Farewell till I reach Calcutta, where I shall probably find a letter from you.

Your affectionate friend,

T. F. Calcutta.

At the hazard of some little repetition, extracts are here given from another letter, written the day after his arrival at Calcutta, and while his mind was yet full of the interesting and important incidents of his recent visitation. It may not, perhaps, be without its use to witness the strength of Bishop Middleton's conviction, relative to certain points connected with the condition and the prospects of religion in India,

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and his extreme anxiety to communicate his own impressions on the subject, to able, intelligent, and zealous men in England.

TO T. P. COURTENAY, ESQ. M.P.

SECRETARY TO THE INDIA BOARD.

Calcutta, December 11, 1816.

My dear Sir,

Your very obliging letter of the 15th of May, waited my return to this place, where I arrived yesterday, after an absence of nearly twelve months. My last letter to you was dispatched from Bombay in September last . . . . . I thank you for the interest you so kindly take in the prosperity of our new ecclesiastical establishment, and in points where I am individually and personally concerned, though not, as I am convinced, independently of the cause to which I am pledged by my public duty. In truth, the question of religion in this country, is not generally understood at home. I have now had two years' experience in India, and have seen a considerable part of it, and have conversed with people of all the various nations and religions, of which its population is composed; and my decided opinion is, that very little of the jealousy, with which the natives are supposed to view Christianity and Christian institutions, has any real existence, and that an ecclesiastical establishment, conspicuous by the number of its clergy, and invested with all the dignity and

consideration which the Orientals invariably associate with the higher sacerdotal functions, so far from alarming them, and making them less governable, would impress them with deeper reverence for the British character; and, by inducing them to inquire into the grounds and evidences of our faith, would lead them, gradually, to adopt it, and give us a much stronger hold upon their affections than we have at present. A very different view was generally taken of the subject, at the time of my appointment, and probably it had its effect in the assignment of the bishop's rank, as well as of his income. With respect to the former, I shall adopt your advice, by patiently waiting for a revision of the patent, if that should ever take place; and as to the latter, I have written to your Board, some months since, requesting that a residence may be permanently assigned to the bishop, without which, I really do not see, considering the depreciation of money here, how any bishop, unless he be a man of private fortune, can ever maintain his station in this country. . . . . In the course of my visitation, I have seen a great deal which people in England would imagine to be very interesting; and which, perhaps, would repay the trouble of a shorter voyage than that to India. Nothing, however, has been more remarkable than my visit to the Syrian churches in Travancore, and to Ceylon.

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Of the actual state of the Syrians, I have collected much fuller details than have hitherto been made public, and they are, probably, the most extraordinary community now existing in the world. I had a ready access to them, and found them wholly unreserved upon the points upon which I wished to gain information.

My visit to Colombo was no less gratifying than that to the Syrians. Ceylon is making rapid strides to civilization and Christianity, and it has little to wish for but a succession of such governors as Sir Robert Brownrigg. I could scarcely name a man who is doing so much for the happiness of a whole people. He is expected to remain at Ceylon for about two years longer, and I shall feel great interest in the character of his successor, whoever he may be. I can hardly conceive a more important appointment. Application will, I believe, be made to his Majesty's government to place the island, in ecclesiastical matters, under my jurisdiction. The Christianity of Ceylon is certainly made up of very discordant materials. There are teachers there sent out by almost every sect; yet most of the converts there, with the exception of those of the Romish faith, would, I believe, very readily range themselves under the episcopal authority. *No government which has not some analogy to monarchy, is suited to the habits and the tempers of the people of this quarter of the globe.* In the course of my visita-

tion, I have visited all the schools which lay in my route, and I have confirmed about 1000 persons. I could have had one or two more confirmations, if I had not declined holding a confirmation wherever there was not a church.

I do not precisely recollect the passage of my letter to which you advert respecting the difficulties thrown in the way of the archdeacon of Madras. The case however was, that the government, or rather the governor, would not recognise him as having any thing to do in the concerns of the clergy. The correspondence was carried on through the senior chaplain, till I visited Madras; and, even then, I had great difficulty in prevailing upon the governor to promulgate the resolutions of the supreme government respecting the transfer of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the bishop and archdeacon. . . . . What I wish is (and it is absolutely necessary, if we are to have any thing like a Church in India,) that the clergy should be divested, as far as possible, of their military character, and be under the control neither of barrack-masters, nor military officers of higher rank, or any rank. . . . . It is exceedingly galling to a clergyman to be told by a commanding officer, that there shall, or shall not, be service on such a day, and that such and such portions of the Liturgy must be omitted; neither can such, or

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any interference, be compatible with the exercise of the bishop's authority.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

T. F. Calcutta.

Before concluding this chapter, it may be desirable to notice here a few circumstances which subsequently occurred, but which have immediate connection with the Bishop's visitation of this part of India.

In consequence of the petition which the Bishop forwarded to the Madras government from the remains of the Dutch congregation at Cochin, by the Bishop's desire, the Rev. Walter Williams was directed to reside there. So readily were his ministrations received by the Protestant inhabitants, that one of the Presbyterian churches was entirely given up to him; and a pulpit and reading desk were placed in the church by two Dutch gentlemen, M. Schuler and M. Crockenden at an expense of 1000 rupees. The Rajah of Cochin also liberally subscribed towards a free-school under Mr. Williams's charge for the benefit of the native population, and even placed under his superintendence a native poor-house, which his Highness had instituted, assigning Mr. Williams for such service a salary of 100 rupees per month. But these encouraging promises of usefulness were, unhappily, soon interrupted by the Madras government recalling their chaplain

for the more pressing service of the European military. Nor has any English clergyman been since stationed there by the government.

Mr. Williams, while resident at Cochin, willingly became the agent for distributing to the various Christian and Jewish congregations, copies of the Scriptures in Syriac, Hebrew, Portuguese, Dutch, and English. And not only was one copy of the Syriac Scriptures presented to each church, but most of the catanars partook of the same benefit. The college at Kotim received at this time a munificent donation of 20,000 rupees from the Rannee of Travancore, —the Rajah of Cochin gave 5000 rupees also for the maintenance of this establishment. The Syrian bishop, Mar Dionysius, died in December, 1816, about three months after Bishop Middleton's visit; and after a short interval the archdeacon, George, was consecrated by the remaining bishop, Mar Philoxenus, and assumed the name of his predecessor, Mar Dionysius.

At Bishop Middleton's request, archdeacon Barnes had made application to Mr. Rich, the resident at Bagdad, requesting to know if any Syriac or Chaldee manuscripts were procurable in that pashalick, or in Persia, which might assist the Bishop in his researches into the history of the Syriac Church. The reply of Mr. Rich is given in the following letter from him to the archdeacon.

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TO THE REV. ARCHDEACON BARNES.

Bagdad, September 5, 1816.

Sir,

Your letter of the 25th of May did not reach me time enough for me to write by the *Aurora*, which delay I regret the more, as after all I am obliged to send you what I fear will be deemed a most unsatisfactory answer to your queries.

I despair of being able to procure any Syriac or Chaldee MSS. of value; it is only by some lucky accident, upon which it is impossible to reckon, that such things are to be met with; for the very few MSS. which now remain in the East are preserved with the most religious scrupulousness, as ecclesiastical property, by those who are totally ignorant of their literary value. This is the case, for instance, with the Patriarchal library, which though neglected and in the greatest confusion, the elders of the Church would not allow their chief to part with, were he so inclined. Of this library, the only valuable articles I saw, were two old copies of the Gospels. At Mousul, in the lumber-room of an old church, I found some ancient MSS. which had lain neglected for more than a century among dust and rubbish, yet it was impossible to procure any of them; nay, the priests even shewed a great dislike of letting any one into the room where they were kept, or rather

thrown by. In my own collection, which I have formed at different opportunities, (for I also am a collector) there is no Syriac or Chaldee MSS. of historical value. These circumstances are the less to be regretted, as Asseman contains all the materials that can possibly be required for the history of the Syrians, extracted from a collection of their own books, which is unrivalled in any part of the world. You are, of course, aware that the Christians, commonly called Syrians, are divided into two classes ;—Monophysites, or Syrians properly so called, who are followers of Jacobus Baradæus, and, therefore, designate themselves as Jacobites ; and those who early adopted the heresy of Nestorius, and are properly called Chaldeans. Of each of these sects, a portion has been converted to Catholicism, and, like the other Oriental Christians, are allowed the use of their own language. The Patriarch of the Jacobites, who still calls himself Patriarch of Antioch, is an acquaintance of mine, and resides near Mardin in this pashalick ; he has a bishop in Malabar, who is probably the one you allude to. I had at one time projected a short history of both the Syrians and Chaldeans, considered both as different people and as religious sects, comprehending, of course, an account of their establishment in India, China, and Tartary. In

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this I should have availed myself of the rich stock of materials so industriously collected by Asseman, together with the results of my own inquiries. Circumstances suspended the execution of the plan; and with the variety of occupation of a very different nature which I have on my hands, it is impossible to say at what period I shall be able to resume it.

With respect to Armenian MSS. there are none procurable, at least in my quarter. During the whole period of my residence in the East, I have only been able to get one, and that is neither ancient nor valuable. There are libraries in the monasteries of Akhtamar on the Lake of Van, and Echmiazin, the seat of the *Catholicos*, which are not allowed to be dispersed. There is no reason to believe that they contain anything of value.

I remain, Sir,

Your faithful servant,

CLAUDIUS JAMES RICH.

It will be remembered, that whilst the Bishop was at Ceylon, he expressed himself much pleased at the exertions making for the promotion of Christianity. Among the measures to which he gave his assistance and encouragement then, was a proposal for translating the book of

Common Prayer into Cingalese, by Mr. Tolfrey, a civil servant at Colombo, who was distinguished as an eminent Cingalese and Pali scholar, and who had devoted much of his time, with great zeal and indefatigable application, to the translation of the New Testament into both those languages. The death of this amiable and truly pious man occurred within a few months after the Bishop left Colombo; and it is valuable to record here the expression of his lordship's feelings on the loss of such an able assistant in the Christian cause, as they occur in his own words, addressed in a letter to the Rev. George Bisset, secretary of the Colombo Bible Society.

TO THE REV. GEORGE BISSET.

Calcutta, February 11, 1817.

My dear Sir,

The Ceylon Gazette, received by me about a week ago, announced the unexpected death of Mr. W. Tolfrey; and the Gazette of the 11th ultimo, which has reached me this day, conveys the resolutions of his Excellency the Governor, and the other gentlemen, members of the committee—in whose service, in the translation of the Scriptures, the talents of Mr. Tolfrey have been so signally exerted,—to raise a monument to his memory in Colombo church.

The desire of being admitted to join in any

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testimony of respect to such a man, as was he who is the object of your regrets, must be natural to every one who is not wholly incapable of admiring true greatness and strength of character, and of revering the energies of a mind directed to their best employment,—the promoting of the glory of God.

Mr. Tolfrey, indeed, needs not any of the frail memorials in which his survivors can consecrate his name. He was one of the illustrious few who erect their own monuments; and the honours paid to such serve rather to satisfy the feelings of the living, to confirm them in the esteem of whatever is of good report, and to acquit themselves of a debt of gratitude, than to perpetuate the memory of the dead. But even this is not to be disregarded; and the obligation to offer the tribute is never so strong as when the memorial is least required.

I entreat you, then, to excuse the liberty which I take, in requesting permission to be a contributor to the proposed monument; to which honour, however, (for such I really consider it,) I have no other claim, than that which is founded in my deep respect for the virtues and powers of the late Mr. Tolfrey, and in the interest which my recent visit to your island impels me to take in any event which so nearly concerns it.

I venture to enclose a draft for 300 rix dollars, to be paid to your order at Point de Galle; and you will much oblige me, by the desired application of that sum.

I remain,

My dear Sir, with much esteem,

Your very faithful servant,

T. F. Calcutta.

CHAPTER XIII.

Occupation of the Bishop's time in Calcutta—Letter to Mr. Norris—To Mr. T. P. Courtenay—Proposed Grammar-school Vidyalaya or Hindoo College—Proposals for extension of Missionary establishments—Letter to Mr. Thomas Courtenay on the connection of Ceylon to the bishopric of Calcutta.

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THE labours and fatigues of the visitation being now concluded, the Bishop resumed the stationary duties of his diocese; and those duties were such as to require the most careful distribution of his time. Like all other European residents in India, he rose before the sun, and sometimes took the exercise of riding on horseback; but not always (he says), for it generally left him languid during the rest of the day. His mornings were usually occupied in receiving the clergy and others on business, in correspondence with his archdeacons and other clergy, with the local governments, or with the authorities in England; and such portions of his time as could well be spared, from such matters, he chiefly devoted to the composition of sermons, for the pulpit of his cathedral, which he occupied frequently, about once in a fortnight, or three weeks

at farthest. Nor must we omit, in thus enumerating the various occupations of the Bishop's time, the demands upon his attention which the common civilities of life occasioned; and on which, in Calcutta particularly, he felt that his influence and usefulness greatly depended. In the midst of these engagements, his thoughts were perpetually wandering towards England. Left as he was to his own energies and resources —destitute of legal advice on points of ecclesiastical law—with little aid from the counsels of those about him—and entrusted with the execution of duties, the novelty of which in India, surrounded him with jealous inspection,—it is not wonderful that he should seek support in frequent intercourse with kindred minds in his own country. To them he poured out his anxieties and his doubts. To them he delineated, faithfully and minutely, the nature of his position, with its pecularities and difficulties. In circuitous and tardy consultation with them, he was compelled to seek that confirmation of his own views and purposes which, in England, he would have derived from personal and animating conference. Even at this early period of his residence, a tone of misgiving and even of dejection, is occasionally discernible in his correspondence—a dejection, however, which may, doubtless be in some degree attributed to the enervating influence of the climate on his constitution;

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for he appears, even then, to have been conscious that his lamp of life was burning rapidly and prodigally. So much was this the case at times, that we find him assailed with fears, that no human vigour or perseverance, could be equal to a conflict with the multiplied obstructions which confronted him; and that he might be compared to one

> ——— Who swims with fins of lead,
> And hews down oaks with rushes.

These apprehensions, however, though they might occasionally deject his spirits, never could relax or enfeeble his exertions. He sought a retreat from them in the discharge of his solemn obligations, and in meditation on the brighter days which might yet be in store for the Anglo-Indian Church. It must be almost needless to add, that his spirit was in daily communion with the source of all holiness and strength, and that his thoughts were habitually fixed on Him to whose glory his whole faculties were dedicated. One of the apartments of his residence was fitted up for the purposes of a chapel, where service was regularly performed, and to which such visitors as came to breakfast with him were invited to attend. A part of the daily devotions consisted of a prayer[1] drawn up by himself, with

[1] "Almighty Father, whose Providence hath conducted us to these distant shores, we implore thee to prosper all our

especial reference to the duties and dangers incident to a residence in India. CHAP. XIII. 1816.

Respecting his occupations and prospects at this time it will be interesting to hear him speak for himself, and with this view the following

undertakings, which have for their object the welfare of our brethren, and the glory of thy holy name. Thou hast brought us to a land, where all who are sincerely devoted to thy service, may find occasions of doing good, and where the single talent may be usefully employed. Grant, O Lord, that whatever our hand findeth to do, we may do it with all our might. Save us from the effects of indolence and indifference: awaken our zeal, quicken our exertions, and enable us to persevere steadily and consistently in those endeavours which thy Holy Spirit may suggest to us. We beseech thee also, to vouchsafe us such a portion of health as may be necessary to the discharge of our active duties, without suffering us to forget our dependence upon thee; or, if it should please thy Providence to afflict us, teach us to bear our sickness patiently, and turn it to our spiritual improvement. And while we implore thy mercy on ourselves, we commend to thy especial protection our relatives, and all who are dear to us, in our native land. Bless them, O Lord, and let them remember us in their prayers. And to as many of us as thy Providence shall permit to return to our country, grant that we may find those who shall remain to us, increased in every spiritual grace, and advancing in the way of holiness; that so we may employ whatever further portion of life thy wisdom may assign us in the endearing charities of kindred and holy friendship; and exhorting one another to good works, as the day approacheth, we may all pass to that better country, which thou hast promised to those that love thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*"

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passages have been selected from his correspondence.

Extract of a Letter to the Rev. H. H. Norris.

Calcutta, January 4, 1817.

. . . . . My library almost every morning exhibits a sort of levee, a succession of visitors who hardly leave me time to get through my necessary business, which, in a country where every thing is done by writing, and every thing is anomalous, is not a little. This morning's work (now a quarter past one), has been writing thus far. Among other visitors, I have had a person just arrived from Bagdad, who brings me an overture from an Arabian convert to Christianity; and a Persian letter, in which he furnishes me with an argument against the Koran. That any arguments should be wanting against that which has no evidence to support it! but so it is. I believe, however, that the mind is at work in various parts of this Eastern world; and a bishop who could afford to stand forward as the patron of converts whose sincerity was approved,—who could bear the expense of printing occasionally,—and, in short, who could do what every body but our own people expects from him,—might, I am convinced, be a principal instrument in the hands of Providence in promoting a work which sooner or later will be accomplished, and wants nothing so much

as countenance and help. In the present instance, the man wishes me to invite him to Bengal, that he may openly profess Christianity, having already been baptized by a Romish priest, and obtain a subsistence equal to that which he relinquishes. All this is very plausible, but it is impossible, without a great deal of proof, to trust any native of the East; so that I have declined inviting him to Bengal, but have told him that if he should come on any other grounds, he may call upon me.

Your long and most interesting letter of the 13th of March last, reached me on the 1st of September, having been sent across to Bombay. I assure you I have not received any thing more welcome from any quarter since I came to India. I have acknowledged the receipt of it in a letter to Mr. Joshua Watson, in which I have given him a long detail of my long visitation. I hope you will all give me credit for such an enterprise: an episcopal visitation in India is no trifle; however, I thank God, Mrs. Middleton and myself have been preserved from fevers on land, and from rocks and gales at sea, and are both returned in good health. I preached on Christmas-day, at my little cathedral, to 914 persons, of whom 180 received the sacrament at my hands: there were 300 more when I first preached, but then the other church was shut up during a repair: and I preached again on New-year's day to

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a congregation which would have been very large, but that a lady of fashion (for we have fashion in India,) had on the preceding evening given a grand ball, which kept people up till five in the morning. Upon the latter occasion I preached a sort of *Irenicon* upon Gal. vi. 15, in which I disclaimed, not, I hope, the doctrine of our Church upon regeneration, but those mischievous and absurd inferences which are supposed to be deducible from it; as, that baptism is sufficient to salvation, and is a remission of all sins which men afterwards commit; that the "opus operatum" is every thing, &c. &c. &c.; and I have every reason to believe that to some of my hearers (who have been exceedingly scandalized at the inferences contained in the commentaries upon Dr. Mant's Tracts,) it has given great satisfaction; for the consequences of all your controversies in England reach India, and, I am sorry to say, are doing us harm; and nothing is wanting to complete the mischief, but an unconciliating spirit on the part of the Bishop. Whatever little I may have hitherto been able to accomplish has been done by my readiness to hear what every body has to say, and by smoothing asperities. A different course would in an instant undo every thing. It must be remembered that the *religious mind* of the country, if I may use the expression, had been pre-occupied in great measure before I came; and that the

Scotch Church will divide the portion which had hitherto been with the Church of England. These circumstances make it impossible that I should here take any direct and active part in some points, on which in England you are accustomed to express very strong opinions. To popularity I have made no sacrifices, or I might have had it in a degree, perhaps, which few men attain. I might have had my name rung throughout England, and perhaps elsewhere. But I have firmly resisted overtures of that sort, very much to the astonishment of some, who do not enter into controversy, and who, I am afraid, give me credit in consequence for less zeal than I hope I possess.

I think it is gradually beginning to be felt that the mere distributions of Bibles will produce very little effect in promoting Christianity among the natives. When I was at Bombay, a Parsee, *i. e.* one of the adherents to the religion of Zoroaster, told a clergyman, that he supposed, as the Bishop was come, they must all think of turning Christians, but he hoped the Bishop would not give them great books, but little ones to begin with, "as they could not understand a great deal at once." The remark, no doubt, is true generally; and, with few exceptions, little good will be done, except by schools and tracts; of which last, however, very few as yet in existence are suited to the state of India.

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I will not lose sight of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. I wish that I could work twelve hours in the twenty-four, but in this climate it is impossible, or I could employ them well. I really feel myself responsible for every idle moment.

Extract of a Letter to the Rev. H. H. Norris.

Calcutta, January 25, 1817.

. . . . . The Christians of this place will have abundant choice of doctrines, quite enough to bewilder common understandings . . . . . there is, however, no diminution of attendance at the cathedral, but very much the contrary, and it is a subject of common remark. I preach very frequently, about once in a fortnight or three weeks at the farthest; and, generally, nearly an hour at a time: and in Lent, archdeacon Loring, by my appointment, will deliver a catechetical lecture every Friday evening. And after Easter I mean, if I preserve my health, to resume my lectures on the Litany on the alternate Sunday evenings, and continue them about six months. This will be *some* employment in an intensely hot and exhausting climate; but it is only a small part of what I have to engage my time. A large correspondence with the clergy in all parts of India, or with the archdeacons, upon clerical matters, visits almost every morning from either the gentlemen

of the place, or natives, to whom I always listen with the greatest patience, schools, the diocesan committee, and projects for the public good; such are the occupations which leave me little time for reading, and hardly any for, what is most important to my comfort, my correspondence with my friends in England. At present I am busy in framing a plan for a grammar-school; and, if I can manage it, it will be a blessing to India. The half-castes here are becoming opulent, and wish to give their children a liberal education, and some of them have been with me to know what is to be done. I hope the result will be that classical knowledge will be attainable in this country, and that an important class of its population will be brought up in the principles of the Church of England, instead of being left, as at present, without any thing deserving the name of education, or any fixed principles of religion.

The annexed fragment of a letter to Mr. Ward speaks briefly, indeed, but with pleasing animation, of his various engagements, and of his hopes of eventual good.

Calcutta, January 25, 1817.

My dear Friend,

I wrote to you about six weeks since, announcing my safe return to Calcutta, after my

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long visitation, of which, also, I gave you a pretty full account; and I will, therefore, be more brief on the present occasion. My time, indeed, is constantly occupied. What with preaching, attending meetings of benevolent institutions, carrying on correspondence with the clergy all over India, receiving visits almost every morning from gentlemen of the place, or strangers just arrived, or natives who wish to know what Christianity really is, or with projects and schemes of improvement,—I seldom find that I have a moment to spare; the hours glide rapidly away. In this country I am often placed in situations, which to you at home may seem romantic: a few days ago I had a message and a letter from a man at Bagdad, a baptized convert from Islamism, who wishes me to send for him to Calcutta: since that I have had a message from one of the richest men at Benares, a Hindoo, requesting leave to write to me upon the subject of the Christian religion: and a few days hence I am to see a man lately arrived from Balkh in Tartary, a place less known than any other in these Eastern regions: but his visit has nothing to do with Christianity: he is a steady Mussulman, and is come to teach Persian at a new institution here for the instruction of Hindoos, from which, ultimately, I augur much good. The horror at Christianity is certainly beginning to subside: and the elements of European know-

ledge are growing into great request. Our own character is gaining ground, and our attention to religion is increasing: Providence, I doubt not, in due time, will bring all these things to a favourable issue. CHAP. XIII. 1817.

Your affectionate friend,

T. F. Calcutta.

To these extracts, it would be culpable to forbear adding a considerable portion of a letter addressed to Mr. Norris shortly afterwards, as it carries on the history of the Bishop's projects and exertions; and, more particularly, as it contains the first mention of a mission college. The germ of this design, it will be observed, was a mere suggestion of the venerable missionary Mr. Kolhoff; and it is adverted to here by the Bishop as an undertaking infinitely desirable, indeed, but too expensive to be practicable! Little did he think at that time that he should be the honoured instrument of rearing such an institution, and live to see the Principal of his college arrive in India!

TO THE REV. H. H. NORRIS.

Calcutta, April 21, 1817.

My dear Sir,

Having got away for a few days from the business and bustle of Calcutta to rusticate with Lord Moira at the Windsor or Hampton Court

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of India, I indulge myself with sitting down to acknowledge your letter of the 17th of July, received only two days since. I need hardly tell you, having told you so often, how much your correspondence interests and delights me. I had previously heard of Dr. Marsh's[1] advancement, and sent my congratulation to him some time ago: it is a good omen, and seems in a great measure to remove my bodings from a great many bad ones, though I hardly see how great mischiefs are to be averted. A *little* agitation, as you observe is good for us, as it keeps us from stagnation; but there is more than a rippling on the surface of the waters, and I dread a storm. . . . . Last night I resumed my lectures on the Litany, which I purpose, if my health will permit, to continue on the alternate Sunday evenings for the next six or seven months, besides, perhaps, two or three occasional sermons; and then Advent, Christmas, &c., will be at hand, and then come several of my turns. I have given the bishop seven in the year, and the archdeacon the same number. During last Lent, I set my archdeacon to preach a catechetical lecture on every Friday evening, which was pretty well attended; and every Wednesday morning I assembled the children of the boarding-schools,

[1] The present Bishop of Peterborough, then promoted to the see of Llandaff.

&c. between two and three hundred, and had them catechised by the chaplains, except on the Wednesday in Passion-Week, when I catechised the best proficients myself, and examined them in bishop Mann's Exposition; and afterwards delivered an address to them from my chair. I am now printing it, and mean to call at the several schools, and distribute it myself. Some people might think all this very trifling; and certainly it could be done quite as well by a chaplain; but then the inference would be all against the bishop. . . . . I am particularly anxious about the fate of the Danish mission: you will perhaps be surprised to hear that it is actually on my hands! The missionaries wrote to me about two months since, stating that their resources were reduced lower than ever, that they received nothing from Europe, and that they must break up their establishment, unless I could devise the means of saving them. I immediately drew up a statement of their case, and circulated it among a few of the principal people at Calcutta; and I think that, with what I have raised and may raise elsewhere, I may be able to support the mission for a twelvemonth, but not more. I have advanced nothing from the credit of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge beyond the 200*l.* mentioned in my letter from Tranquebar; though in case of extreme necessity I may, perhaps, give something more. Now

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what I want is, to impress you and my other friends at Bartlett's Buildings, with the vast importance, if possible, of becoming patrons and and proprietors of the oldest Protestant mission in India. I do not apprehend that the mission will altogether perish: if *we* do not take it, it will be transferred to some other society. But it would be a creditable and popular thing for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to consolidate the two missions, and thus place herself at the head of all the Protestant native Christianity in the south of India. There would be but little difficulty in bringing the Christians, in such hands, into communion with the Church of England. The Society, I fear, is not rich enough for such an undertaking; but in an age when missions are so readily supported, do not you think that an appeal might be made to the public with good success? Turn over the matter with our friends: the object is a *very important one*, and to assist it, I will write a letter to Dr. Gaskin, of which the Society may make any use it thinks proper. But whatever is done, must be done *soon*. I cannot hold out above another year, at present I have not enough for more than six months; but I will leave no stone unturned to save the mission, and to facilitate the junction. I believe, I never mentioned to you that, when I was at Tanjore, Mr. Kolhoff (whom, by the way, as well as Mr.

Pohlé, I wish the Society in all their communications to mention with respect, for they are excellent men); I never mentioned that Mr. Kolhoff wished me to devise the means of educating the children of our missionaries themselves *in a sort of missionary college in India.* The advantages to the cause of Christianity are evident; especially as Mr. Kolhoff assured me that they might all of them, without any objection, be brought up in the principles of our Church, and be regularly ordained by the bishop of Calcutta. It so happens that Mr. Pohlé, though very old, has a young family, and Mr. Kolhoff a still younger, and that Mrs. Horst, widow of the missionary, has a son of about nine or ten years of age. Mr. Kolhoff assured me that all of these would be glad to receive such an education for such purposes, and thus you would very soon transfer all the native Christians of the south, into the bosom of the Church. A missionary college is evidently too expensive a plan, or else it would be excellent: two or three of these have been the seminaries from which the Portuguese have diffused their religion into every corner of the country. But I thought the other day that I had hit on an expedient: the opulent half-castes at Calcutta, some of them very rich, have been much about me lately to assist them in founding a grammar-school, such as we have

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in the provincial towns in England, the bishop for the time being to be visitor and patron. The thing seems to hitch a little, though I have drawn a sketch of the statutes, &c. and have obtained the consent of Lord Moira to the plan. The fact is, that to have academical and able masters from England, which is wished, and is indispensable, it will require funds: however, I do not mean to let the scheme drop, and I still hope it will go on. In that case, I think, that by contributing something on the part of the Society, I can reserve in the plan two or three *free* scholarships, to be given always in preference to the sons of our missionaries, if such apply. You would then have a constant succession of missionaries without sending to Halle; and, generally speaking, much better for your purpose, as being better acquainted with the habits of the natives, and inured to the climate. I am very anxious about the grammar-school, if I can bring it to bear, even independent of the missionary appendage; it will be the greatest machine in diffusing religion and all good principles which was ever set at work in India.

. . . . . You suppose me capable of much greater things than I am able to accomplish, standing alone as I do, and having to find my way through brushwood and jungle, where bishop never trod before; however, you cannot over-

rate my affection and veneration for the Church and the institutions of my native land; the feeling is, if possible, increased by distance; and I hope I may be forgiven the daily prayer that, after labouring in the service of that Church, as long as God shall grant me strength equal to the task, I may be permitted once more to embrace you all, and to die in her bosom.

. . . . . Having written this letter I shall indulge myself with Syriac for an hour, and then dress for dinner at four; and then I suppose we shall all mount our elephants, and ride round the park till it is dusk.

. . . . . I received Dr. Van Mildert's[1] letter of last autumn, and have answered it by a ship which sailed about six weeks ago. I also wrote before that to the Archbishop of Canterbury about missions from the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. *The Church must send out missionaries, or it will not hereafter be found among the Churches of Asia.*"

A letter addressed to Mr. Courtenay by the Bishop, shortly after the above, dated Calcutta, Feb. 10, 1817, adverts still more fully to the project of a grammar-school; and contains, moreover, an interesting account of the college recently established by respectable Hindoos for the education of their sons.

[1] The present Bishop of Durham.

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"From the interest which you kindly take in the proceedings connected with my episcopate, I will inform you, that I am at present engaged in a scheme which, if it can be brought to bear, will, I trust, be productive of great good to India. The half-castes, or (as they would rather be called,) the *country born*, are, in many parts of India, and especially in this presidency, rising to wealth and importance; and they are desirous of giving their children as good an education as they can afford to pay for. *The time is approaching when something must be done for this class of persons.* Among them are many of the principal tradesmen of Calcutta; and, if they are not liberally educated, and thus connected with us by congenial sentiment, we may, in time, discover that we have lost all hold on their affections. They are a warm and irritable race; and from the state of society among us, into which they are rarely admitted, it is natural that they should be actuated by a common feeling. Some of the most considerable of them have applied to me to assist them in founding a *grammar-school*, to find proper masters for it in England, *clergymen of the Established Church*, and to be a patron of the future institution. The question will turn, I apprehend, principally upon the funds, which, for such a purpose must be considerable. But they speak confidently of their resources; relying, however, upon some assistance from the

annual lac of rupees voted by the charter. When I have digested the regulations, I shall submit them to Lord Moira, who appears, upon a verbal statement of mine, to be very friendly to the measure; and also forward a copy of them to your board. If it can happily be accomplished, we shall see liberal knowledge, and truly Christian principles, imparted to a numerous race of men who, at present, are without the means of obtaining either, and thus be laying the foundation of lasting attachment to us in church and state.

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"It is, indeed, highly necessary that I should exert myself, to the full extent of my very limited means, to counteract or to avert the mischief, which may be apprehended at some distant period, from the method in which we are disseminating knowledge in this country. I am as warm a friend to the propagation of Christianity as any man; and I am convinced that the minds of the people (who, whatever may be said of the attainments of a few of their learned men some centuries ago, are in a state of abject ignorance and even childishness,) must be enlightened. *The best employment of the missionary is in teaching children; and we can hardly teach them any thing which will not bring them a step nearer to Christianity.* But who are the teachers sent out to us? They are of almost every description; while those of the Church of England are an

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inconsiderable minority. The most prominent are the Baptists; and, next to them, the Independents. The Baptists have been settled in this country about eighteen years. Their labours have been various and immense; though it is now beginning to be understood that they have attempted more than it has been possible to execute well. However, their exertions are unremitted . . . . . I send you a plan which they have just published for the education of the natives. It certainly conveys a very just notion of the moral depravity of the Hindoos; and it contains many excellent hints; though part of it is borrowed from a plan which an Independent here has been acting upon for some years past, for conveying those elements of knowledge which must precede the direct inculcation of Christianity." Speaking afterwards of the prospects of Christianity in India, he adds,—"I am aware that Christianity has vast difficulties to overcome. But I am also convinced that the prospect within these very few years is considerably improved. The natives, especially those of the higher class, who have much intercourse with the English, begin to feel the weakness and deficiency of their own systems, and evince a strong desire of knowledge; and I am called upon, sometimes, to explain to Hindoos, at their own request, the evidences of Christianity. They do not, indeed, say much. But their minds are

evidently at work; *and they certainly display no bigotry, and betray no alarm with regard to the diffusion of our religion.* The wealthy Hindoos have just set on foot a school, or college, without any aid or countenance from the government, who (very wisely, I think,) have wished the work to be done by themselves. I inclose a copy of the regulations. The superintendant is a military officer, and the only Englishman connected with the establishment. Without such assistance nothing could be done. As no grammars, or other school book, could be found, into which the subject of religion did not enter, the superintendant was obliged to adopt the books used in English schools. But to avoid all appearance of seeking to make converts, he tore out, or pasted over, the passages which related to Christianity. This was observed by the managers, who are all Hindoos of wealth and consequence; when one of them wrote to the superintendant a note, of which I send you a copy, evincing the feelings of this class of people respecting us. On the same occasion, two of the managers declared that they had read the Bible, and had found nothing in it which could do their children harm."

The *note* which the Bishop here mentions is as follows:—"I have looked over the accompanying two books, and found nothing to be struck out; but felt very much for the passages pasted

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over, and consequently beg of you not to spoil any other books in a similar way; as the boys, whose parents are averse to allow them to read whatever alludes to the Christian religion, may leave out the same.

(Signed,) RADHAHANT DEB."

To F. IRVINE, Esq.
Jan. 17, 1817.

The primary object of the Vidyalaya, or Hindoo College, here alluded to, was (in the language of its own regulations,) "the tuition of the sons of respectable Hindoos in the English and Indian languages, and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia." The very establishment of such a seminary, especially when combined with the above indications of a frank and unsuspicious temper on the part of its promoters, afford an ample confirmation to the repeated statements of Bishop Middleton. It shews, at least, that the natives of Hindostan have no incorrigible abhorrence of truth; and affords a good hope that science in that country may eventually become the pioneer of Christianity. With regard to the grammar-school for the education of the country-born youth, it appears that the design of the Bishop made but little progress for several years. It was, however, carried into effect soon after his death by the zeal, firmness, and discretion of Mr. Haw-

tayne. The direction of the establishment was then virtually consigned to him. He took upon himself the department of religious instruction, and, under the title of its chaplain, afforded it the blessing of religious ministrations. He solicited and obtained for it the favour and support of the Governor-general, to whom he submitted a regular "Plan for a Calcutta Grammar-School," to consist of thirty foundation boys, and as many more as could be had. Its two masters were to be from Oxford or Cambridge, with the degree of M.A., and both clergymen,—the Bishop to be visitor,—the Governor to appoint half the trustees, the subscribers the other half,—the studies to be those of grammar-schools in England,—six scholarships to be founded in Bishop's College, if permitted; the boys to be elected off from such as should be disposed to become missionaries. And he had the satisfaction of finding that the Indo-British committee of management were abundantly grateful to him for his exertions.

Very soon after this, the Bishop had again occasion to address Mr. Courtenay, in consequence of information which had reached him, of a recommendation, on the part of the governor of Ceylon, that the island should be placed under his episcopal care. His letter will best explain the feelings with which he received this intelligence.

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Calcutta, February 22, 1817.

My dear Sir,

. . . . . Since I wrote my last to you, I have received from the governor of Ceylon, a copy of his Excellency's dispatch to Earl Bathurst, recommending that the island of Ceylon should be placed under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Calcutta; the proposed plan is, that the bishop should pass a short time there triennially in his way to Bombay, to ordain, confirm, visit the schools, &c.; and, that he should be assisted by an archdeacon, constantly resident in the island. I thought it advisable upon the receipt of this intelligence (though I knew that such a scheme was in contemplation), to write to Earl Bathurst, assuring his lordship of my readiness, under any arrangement, to receive the commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent; and engaging, to the best of my ability, to realize the advantages expected. Much good may unquestionably be done in Ceylon, even though the bishop should stay there but a very short time, and never visit any place but Colombo: and certainly, as the dispatch states, it would require but little to indemnify him for this delay and expense. In Ceylon, however, a great deal more than this may be done if the bishop have sufficient means; *probably, indeed, there is no part*

of the world, where liberality could be turned to so good account. It is said, that the Christians in the island are not fewer than 200,000, of whom a considerable majority are Protestants; and many of those who are nominally of the Church of Rome, might easily be gained over by attention and encouragement. But, independently of this, it would tend exceedingly to recommend the religion of the Church of England, if the bishop were seen to be the patron of schools, a contributor to the building of churches, and a friend to individual distress. Such a course of proceeding could no where be ineffectual; but it is especially important in these countries, where our institutions are but yet in their infancy, and where religion and munificence are closely associated in the minds of the people.

I have ventured to offer some suggestions of this nature to Lord Bathurst, intimating that for these last-mentioned purposes, the income assigned to the Bishop of Calcutta is altogether inadequate, and but barely sufficient, for such demands, within the present limits of his diocese: at the same time, assuring his lordship, that if, under any arrangement, the proposed measure should be adopted by his majesty's government, whatever be the means afforded me, I will endeavour to apply them accordingly; and that I would even make some sacrifices, if circumstances should require it, where there is so

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much ground to hope that they would be abundantly repaid. In truth, I am disposed to consider as belonging to Ceylon whatever may arise from my possible connection with it, and whether it be 500*l.* per annum or 1,500*l.*, to apply it for the benefit of the island, as far as it will go.

The present governor, Sir Thomas Brownrigg, will be a public loss, whenever he shall relinquish the government, which will be, I understand, within a short period, though I anxiously hope, that in the appointment of his successor, regard will be paid to the selection of a person, who will tread in Sir Robert Brownrigg's steps. He supports schools, builds churches, encourages morals and industry, and, in short, promotes in every way the comfort and happiness of the people. I passed ten days at Colombo very pleasantly; and the governor has been pleased to represent to the government at home, that my visit was of use: however, I could appear there only as a private individual, and I shall greatly rejoice if, on my next visit, I should be authorised to take a more active part.

I am, my dear Sir, &c. &c.

T. F. Calcutta.

CHAPTER XIV.

Activity of Missionaries among the Christians of His Majesty's troops—Extracts from the Bishop's correspondence on the propriety of licensing Missionaries for English service—Rescinding, by the Court of Directors, of the government regulation respecting the location of chaplains—Letter to Mr. T. Courtenay—The Bishop's opinion on the subjection of chaplains to military control—The Court's refusal of a house for the Bishop—Proposal of the Bishop to be empowered to ordain natives—Rammohun Roy—Arrival of Rev. J. Hawtayne as Bishop's chaplain.

It has repeatedly been intimated that, from the earliest period of his residence in India, the hopes of Dr. Middleton were directed, in the first instance, rather towards the *reform* of the European, than the *conversion* of the native population. With him the more immediate object was to preserve and invigorate Christianity, among professed Christians themselves. The neglect of this he was deeply persuaded might entail defeat and disappointment on all other designs. Every day of his residence added strength to this conviction; and it is somewhat curious, that his views on this subject seemed to derive confirmation from the practice of those

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who came out to India purely and solely for the prosecution of missionary labours. In his correspondence, about this period [1], it is observed by him, that urgent, pathetic, and most successful appeals were constantly made to the Christian feelings and principles of Englishmen at home, in behalf of various societies *for the conversion of the Heathen;* but that when the ministers sent out for this purpose arrived in India, they often appeared to be seized with the persuasion, that comparatively little was to be done among the idolaters, but that much might be effected among the ignorant and careless multitudes from Christendom. The Baptists, for instance, (he says) seem to have abandoned all conversion but that of Europeans; but then they boast of their success among his majesty's European troops: and their attention is now turned to native schools, in which they are very generally patronised. "A church missionary here," he adds, "has advertised for a congregation at Garden Reach, within four miles of Calcutta, recommending himself by his being 'regularly ordained in the Church of England;' though he has no license, and is actually under no bishop. And an Independent missionary, who has no orders of any kind, has settled himself in

[1] With archdeacon Barnes, 21st June, 1817; and with Mr. Norris, 31st March, 1818.

Calcutta, and entered into a sort of partnership with the Scotch minister, who lends him his place of worship every Sunday and Wednesday evenings[1], on which I deliver my lectures; and no enquiry is made about his credentials." All, in short, seemed to be more or less under the impression that the peculiar line of exertion for which they had been dispatched from England, must, after all, give way to the more urgent business of converting Europeans from nominal to sincere and vital Christianity. CHAP. XIV. 1817.

By this course of proceeding, it is true, the missionaries furnished a striking support to the convictions of the Bishop. But their undesigned assistance to his hypothesis, was but an imperfect compensation for the manifold perplexities which their practice, *combined with the very inadequate supply of chaplains*, threatened to introduce into his diocese. That, in his opinion, difficulty and confusion were to be apprehended, appears from a letter addressed, by him, in September, 1817, to Mr. Courtenay, secretary of the India Board, relative to the question of the Bishop's jurisdiction over missionaries thus circumstanced. This question he conceived to be becoming daily more important. Many more

[1] The performance of divine service here was advertised to be "by divine permission, and the kind consent of Dr. Bryce." —Calcutta Daily Advertiser, April 26, 1817.

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such missionaries were to be expected from England; and if they were not to be recognised by the Bishop, there would be *two Churches of England* in the country, the consequences of which were exceedingly to be deprecated. The difficulty continued to press upon him during his whole life in India; and in order that the extent of it, as contemplated by him, may be fully understood, and placed in one view before the reader, it will be advisable to introduce here one or two passages from his *subsequent* correspondence. The subject will thus be more completely illustrated, and the narrative relieved from the interruption of a frequent recurrence to the same topic.

A copious exposition of the perplexity in which this matter involved him may be found in a letter which he addressed to Mr. Norris, on the 20th September, 1820, and in which he writes as follows:—

"Even here, at Calcutta, I am not without subjects of concern. I wrote home, and to the government here, about two years ago, for more chaplains. None have yet *arrived;* but several are *going home* on furlough, as it is called. They have this privilege (which the Bishop has not) of going home to see their friends at the end of seven years. To maintain Christianity and Christian ordinances among Christians in the territories subject to this presidency, we

ought to have from twenty-five to thirty chaplains; but, after January next, I question whether *twelve* will remain. But the missionaries in orders, of the Church Missionary Society, are coming out continually; three arrived very lately, and they will become, in a few years, the parochial clergy. In one place the Society have lately built a neat church, and appointed their minister; and what can be said against it? Upwards of 200 Christians were without a pastor. If the state will not provide for such cases, it will never do to say that such persons shall not receive instruction from ordained clergymen of our own Church, by whomever sent. Other cases of the same sort may be expected every day; and if the Church Missionary Society will supply ordained clergymen wherever they are wanted, the Company may be relieved, indeed, from a heavy expense; but then what becomes of the Bishop's jurisdiction? Not one of these missionaries are licensed by me, or known otherwise than as a person sent out *to convert the Heathen:* and yet the conversion of the Heathen is, with missionaries of almost all classes, but a secondary concern; it is laborious, and obscure, and hopeless work, compared with preaching in English among Europeans. In this way, in a few years, there will be a bishop in India, with hardly any clergy; and a numerous clergy not acknowledging episcopal jurisdiction. It may be said,

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indeed, why not use your right of insisting that these men shall be *licensed* or *silenced?* If I license them to preach in English, that were at once to acknowledge these men as performing the duties of parochial clergy, and that the Company need not send chaplains to India: and if I should forbid them to preach in English, while so many European congregations are without any pastor, it would excite horror and hatred both of my person and my office. In fact, it could not be done *salvâ conscientiâ*; and if it could, the same power could not operate against the Baptists, Independents, &c. They would thus have the exclusive teaching of all the Europeans for whom chaplains are not provided by the Company. I know not whether these questions appear to you to involve much difficulty. But these, and many others of the same sort, I wish I could discuss in England, with the view of seeking some remedy." One cause of hesitation, also, in extending the episcopal license to those missionaries, was the difficulty of settling the precise form in which such a license should be framed. The ministrations of missionary clergy were not confined by their Society to any single Christian congregation; and it did not seem desirable to give a license to preach indiscriminately throughout the Indian diocese. The subject is briefly reverted to in a letter from Calcutta, dated March 8, 1821.

"As to my recognising their missionaries, (those of the Church Missionary Society,) what can I do? They will soon have in India a body of ordained clergy nearly half as numerous as the Company's chaplains; *and I must either licence them, or silence them,—there is no alternative.* But how can I silence men who come to India under the authority of a clause in the charter? It may be said that under that clause they should confine themselves to the instruction of natives, and not preach in English. *But they preach where there are no chaplains,* and without their ministrations considerable bodies of Christians would be without the ordinances of religion. They are, in fact, doing what our Propagation of the Gospel Society's missionaries were sent to do in America. And what would be the effect, if the Bishop were to interfere to deprive any Christian congregation of the means of attending the services of the Church? Explanation would be impossible. It would be generally believed that I was adverse to the progress of Christianity, whatever might be my professions."

It will appear in the sequel, that the Bishop was probably induced to abstain from interference with their ministrations, in the hope that an adequate supply of chaplains would, in time, relieve him from difficulty. In this hope, however, he was disappointed; and it will be found that, towards the close of his life, his conviction of the

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necessity of extending the episcopal license to this class of ministers, for English service, became daily more urgent. He seemed to think that the time was close at hand, when it would be impossible longer to withhold his public sanction from services, which came so powerfully in aid of the exigencies of the Church.

It is possible that his mind was rendered even more than usually sensitive under these embarrassments, by the pressure of disappointments from various other quarters. We have seen that the local government of India had transferred to the Bishop the right of originating the nomination of chaplains to particular stations. This arrangement, however, had scarcely a longer duration than the period necessary for carrying the intelligence of it to England, and for bringing back its repeal; for about this time a dispatch arrived at Calcutta, conveying the resolution of the Honourable Court, that this right should not rest with the bishop, but should revert to the several governments of India. It was admitted in this dispatch, that the letters-patent vest in the bishop the same superintendence and control, over all clerical persons within his diocese, as are exercised by bishops in English dioceses:" and the Court add their opinion, that " the powers conferred by these letters are precisely such as are, or may be, exercised in England, in respect to clergymen unbeneficed;

such as military or naval chaplains, ministers officiating in non-parochial or private chapels, or others." This resolution of the Court received the full sanction of the India Board; and the Bishop had thus the mortification to see himself at once deprived of one important source of that legitimate and beneficial influence which he was naturally anxious to establish over his clergy. His sense of the evils of this measure is clearly, but very temperately, expressed in the following extracts of a letter addressed by him to Mr. Courtenay, secretary to the India Board, dated Calcutta, April 25, 1817, and in which he also refers to several other topics of importance.

"About a week has elapsed since I received your obliging letter of the 25th of September, together with a copy of the resolutions of the Court of Directors, rescinding the order of the supreme government respecting my stationing the Company's chaplains, and another respecting my domestic chaplain, and a third paper of less importance. The two former of these Lord Moira had already communicated to me; and the first of them in a very considerate and handsome manner, intimating his intention still to consult with me, and to attend to my wishes. This, however, though it marks his lordship's liberal spirit, will have no effect at the other presidencies; and though, perhaps, nothing can now be done to restore to the bishop this abrogated

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privilege, I cannot but regret, *upon public grounds*, that the Court of Directors have come to a decision by which they gain nothing, and the bishop loses a great deal. The truth is, that though this privilege is liable to be considered as patronage, it has very little of that character. The directors send to this country, as chaplains, whom they please; I could neither recommend nor negative any appointment; and when the chaplains are once in this country, their emoluments are so nearly equal, except at the presidencies, that the only operation of the right, in ordinary cases, could be to lead the clergy to consider the bishop as having the control in all clerical concerns; though even this had its limitations, *as the Governor-general in council had reserved the right of objecting to any or every nomination*. With regard to the presidencies, the advantages are considerably greater than at other stations; and here if the bishop had deviated from the received rule of nominating in the order of seniority, where there is no ground of objection, on the score of immoral conduct, the most conscientious discharge of such a trust might have been called patronage. Still, however, I am convinced, that mere seniority ought not to entitle a clergyman to a situation of so much importance. It would be but a bad rule, that the senior clergyman in Middlesex, being of unimpeached moral character, should succeed

on a vacancy at St. James's, or St. George's, Hanover Square: and though the chaplainships at the presidencies are not preferments of quite the same importance, they are still the most important we have; and, in our present circumstances, such situations require to be filled with all the ability and activity, which the fullest power of selection and the nicest discrimination can command. At Madras, the rule of seniority has been set aside; but not, I think, upon these principles: indeed I hardly know, supposing merit and efficiency to form the ground of preference, who could so fitly be the judge of it as the bishop, who is in constant correspondence with his clergy, and superintends them in the discharge of their duties. As to any influence which the bishop might have acquired by being thus looked up to, I really conceive, as Lord Moira did, that it would have been highly beneficial. As the case now stands, the bishop has, indeed, the power of censuring and correcting offences, but scarcely any of stimulating and encouraging exertion, nor is his good opinion a thing to be particularly desired. The right of collating to the archdeaconries, though given with this view, will hardly operate as was intended. No chaplain at the presidencies would accept the offer of one: his emoluments are probably nearly twice as great; and I imagine that a chaplain who had a reasonable prospect

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of succeeding to the presidency within a few years, would very much hesitate: he might hardly be induced, after having been seven or eight years in India, to begin a new course of duty of fifteen years, for the sake of an archdeacon's pension, when, by remaining half that time, he might hope to retire on a chaplain's pension, and perhaps considerable savings. The only persons to whom the archdeaconries would be certainly desirable, would be those who have been but a short time in the country, though, from that very circumstance, they would be less qualified to exercise authority over clergymen much their seniors. If this inconvenience had been foreseen, it might, perhaps, have been remedied by providing that a chaplain who had served ten years or upwards, should be required to serve as an archdeacon only six more, in order to gain an archdeacon's pension: or he who had served seven years, to add ten to it, with the same prospect of advantage. This, I suppose, cannot now be accomplished[1]; there is, however, one question, upon which I could wish to be informed, in the event of being called upon to appoint an archdeacon; and

[1] A provision much in the manner here suggested, was made by Act of Parliament immediately after Bishop Middleton's death; when the period of service was also lessened from 15 to 10 years.

that is, who are the persons eligible? The canon (127) required the degree of at least A.M. or LL.D., but this would limit the choice still further, as not more than half, if so many, of the Company's chaplains, have graduated so far.

"I wrote to your Board from Bombay, upon several subjects, of which the importance is not lessened by subsequent events. One of them related to a marriage act for India, and I believe that nothing short of legislative interference will suffice. . . . . I am also anxious to know in what light the Church missionaries, being clergymen of the Church of England, are to be considered. The missionary whom I mentioned in my letter of September last, as being in regular orders, and wishing to be licensed as an assistant at the proprietary chapel in this place, has now stationed himself in the Garden Reach, about four miles from Calcutta, to take charge of a small school; and he has lately circulated a paper among the English families residing there, announcing his purpose of performing divine service in his own house every Sunday, and inviting them to attend; and he has since done the same thing more publicly in the Daily Advertiser. In this proceeding I have not been consulted; and it is such a direct infringement of everything like discipline, that I should have hardly expected it in a clergyman of the Church of England: but

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if clergymen can come out in the character of missionaries, but instead of instructing and improving the natives, may advertise for English congregations wherever they please, amenable to no authority, there will at once be an end of all order and discipline in our Indian Church, and the Company may have some cause to complain of interference with their patronage. . . . . You will perceive from these statements that a bishop who is anxious to maintain and to advance the established religion, has not a very easy task. While writing this letter, I have heard from a Brahmin at Benares, who is quite disgusted with idolatry, and has, with several others, made some progress in the knowledge of Christianity. But he tells me that they have had among them not only Protestants (meaning the Church of England,) but Roman Catholics, and recently Baptists, and that their ways are quite different; '*by which*' he says, in his imperfect English, '*the poor Hindoos is in a great confusion!*'

"I rejoice to find that government are beginning to build churches in this presidency, *under an order of the Court, which was issued about twenty years since, but has lain dormant until now.* Fort William and Dum Dum (the artillery station near Calcutta,) are immediately to be commenced; and, unlike most of the churches built in the Madras presidency, they are to have

steeples, and the general appearance of churches. Lord Moira, I have reason to believe, is not ill inclined to a little more of the externals in the established religion of such an empire; and, if we would recommend our religion to the natives, it is quite indispensable. They can conceive nothing which they do not *see*.

"You do me the honour to suppose that my observations, in my late visitation, might be interesting to your board. I certainly saw a great deal, though travelling in India does not furnish the same opportunities of remark as a journey through England, or almost any part, I should conceive, of the continent of Europe. Much of it is a mere blank,—wild nature, unimproved by man. I think that, in my first letter to you after my return, I mentioned my visit to the Syrian Christians. I collected more respecting them than has, I believe, yet been told; and if I can find leisure (of which, however, I have very little), I may perhaps throw something together respecting that singular community."

It will be proper to mention in this place a question of some little delicacy, which was disposed of by the Bishop with his usual judgment and moderation. The Company's chaplains in India were frequently appointed to religious duties with European troops, either in garrison at the presidencies, or at the principal military stations. Previously to the episcopal establish-

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ment, it has been already stated, they were in such situations considered as military chaplains, and therefore under military control; but, by the proclamation of the governor-general, all such control was now expressly transferred, in the terms of the letters-patent, to the Bishop of Calcutta. A case, however, at this time occurred at Bombay, which called from Bishop Middleton a more distinct exposition of this rule; in discussing which some clear and valuable remarks are made on a point in which his own authority and the comfort and respectability of his clergy were intimately concerned.

On archdeacon Barnes's return to Bombay from Calcutta, an official communication was submitted to him by Sir Miles Nightingale, the commander-in-chief at that presidency, in consequence of some circumstances which had occurred between the general and the garrison chaplain, the Rev. R. Baynes. Sir Miles, in this reference to the archdeacon, expressed himself "anxious to have it understood that the garrison chaplain must be so far considered under military authority and control, as to be present at such hour, on the Sunday mornings, as the European soldiers may be ordered to attend divine service; and also, when the commander-in-chief may think proper to convey any message, officially, to the chaplain charged with the clerical duties of the troops in garrison, that

it is the duty of such chaplain to attend on the adjutant-general of the army, or such other public staff-officer as may be directed to make the communication."

These points archdeacon Barnes thought it right to submit immediately to the Bishop for his opinion and judgment; and his lordship's reply was to the following effect[1]:—" A careful perusal of the correspondence submitted to me leads me to repeat what I stated publicly at my late visitation, that many of the clergy are still, by the nature of their duties, military chaplains; and this circumstance necessarily places them in a certain relation towards the highest military authority at the station at which they are to perform their duties. The clergy are, indeed, by his majesty's letters-patent, to consider themselves as under ecclesiastical jurisdiction; but this jurisdiction must be taken to go in aid of the performance of duties which are still military, and have military persons for their object. In this state of things, it is obvious that the commanding officer must be permitted to name the hour of divine service, supposing always that he will not name an hour which is altogether irregular and uncanonical; the preservation of military discipline seems in all cases to reserve this right to the officer commanding; and in

[1] Letter to archdeacon Barnes, July 5, 1817.

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this climate, especially, a due regard to the health of the troops, makes it indispensable that the hour of service should be fixed by himself. I am of opinion, therefore, that the alteration of the hour of attendance could not afford the garrison chaplain any just ground of complaint. It is equally clear, that a reasonable notice of such intended alterations should be given to the officiating clergyman; but on this I have the less reason to insist, as the principle is distinctly admitted by his Excellency, who imputes the omission to the inadvertence of the proper officer, and engages that such inadvertence shall not recur." On the second point in discussion the Bishop remarks, "However painful such a notice, to attend at the office of the adjutant-general, might be to the garrison chaplain, it was to be considered that the Commander-in-chief had no other alternative, than that of either continuing a correspondence which had already gone too far, or of bringing it to a conclusion verbally in the manner proposed. In any other case, I conceive, it would have been unnecessary to require the garrison chaplain to appear personally before the adjutant-general; but (concludes the Bishop) under all the circumstances of the case, Mr. Baynes should not have declined to comply with the requisition." And to avoid, as much as possible, future collisions between the chaplains and the chief

military authorities, the Bishop expressed his desire that all correspondence, preferring complaints against the clergy, should be carried on with the archdeacon of the presidency. With this view the lieutenant-general expressed his entire satisfaction, and trusted that the Bishop's suggestions would prevent a recurrence of any similar unpleasant circumstances.

To the disappointment occasioned by the repeal of the order of the supreme government, respecting the nomination of chaplains, were added various other circumstances of discouragement. The Governor-general had ordered that a residence should be provided for the Bishop, at the public expence. This measure, however, had been disapproved and rescinded by the Honourable Court of Directors, and the burden of house-rent (which in Calcutta is quite enormous), was still to press upon the Bishop's already inadequate revenue[1]. And here let it be mentioned to his honour, that, though defeated in his efforts to procure this accommodation for himself, he was always unremitting in his endeavours to obtain it for his archdeacons, who laboured under a similar disadvantage; from which they are not yet relieved. As an instance of his kind and zealous attention to their interests, the following passage

[1] From this burden his successors have been relieved.

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is subjoined, from a letter to archdeacon Barnes, dated Calcutta, June 21, 1817: "Archdeacon Loring is still in hopes of getting a house, and at his request I have sent in his letter, applying for one to the government here, with my own remarks upon it, which he requests may be sent to England. A bishop without a house comes forward rather awkwardly as an advocate for his archdeacons: but I have, nevertheless, ventured to recommend that you should all have houses, adding, which I thought an act of justice, that any extension of favour to the office could hardly be granted when it would seem to be more closely connected with the personal deservings of the individuals who held their appointments." The reply of the Court of Directors in refusing the archdeacons houses is remarkable, assigning as their reason that the act says, "the archdeacon's salaries are to be in lieu of all fees, emoluments, and advantages whatsoever;" whereby, they said, they were precluded from granting the indulgence. Another source of discomfort to the Bishop was, that his urgent and repeated representations, respecting the expediency of a marriage act in India, were entirely disregarded, and the subject left in the same desperate confusion in which he found it; with this additional cause of perplexity, that Dr. Bryce still persisted in solemnising matrimony, in spite of an express prohibition from the

presbytery of Edinburgh. Again, he was extremely desirous of being invested with the power to assign small salaries of 200*l.* or 300*l.* a year to half-castes, whom he would have ordained to preach to natives in their own language, and who would have been bound to use a translation of the English Liturgy; a plan from which he anticipated the most desirable and blessed effects. This power was, however, positively refused him, and the design consequently fell to the ground. In short, of all the propositions which his experience and observation had prompted him to submit to the authorities at home, not one had been fortunate enough to be distinguished by their approbation and support. *All these things were against him.* They were, in truth, sufficient to dash the firmest and most sanguine spirit. To an ardent, anxious, and perspicacious mind, like that of Bishop Middleton, they were peculiarly painful: and the infliction was severe precisely in proportion to the sagacity with which he discerned what the exigencies of his diocese required, and to the intensity of his devotion to the duties of his office. The depression which he experienced from these distressing circumstances would occasionally betray itself in his letters to England. "I cannot express to you," he says in a letter to Mr. Norris[1], "the satisfaction I derive from

[1] Dated August 18, 1817.

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your correspondence, or how much it tends, together with the letters of a few other friends, to dissipate certain unwelcome feelings to which, notwithstanding constant occupation, I am sometimes liable; but, really, the difficulties and mortifications I have to encounter are sometimes almost too much for me." He then dwells upon the affliction of seeing clearly how every thing *might* prosper in the cause of the Gospel, and of witnessing, at the same time, the multitude of adverse circumstances which, though, perhaps, in some measure accidental and undesigned, yet *seemed* to be united, as in a sort of conspiracy, to crush the Church in its infancy. At the conclusion of the letter he expresses himself thus:—"St. Bernard," (whose works he had desired to have sent out to him), "was the best and wisest of monks, and, if I live some years, I shall wish, perhaps, after all this turmoil, to end my few days in an almost monastic solitude; and I am anxious to know how the mind works in such a situation. Fifteen years of an Indian bishopric would leave but little which is of any use to the world." In spite, however, of the shadows which would thus pass over his spirit, his faculties were constantly and intensely employed on the grand interest committed to his keeping. Among the objects of his solicitude, the Tranquebar mission occupied a principal place. "In my last letter

to you," he writes, "I mentioned my anxiety respecting the Tranquebar mission. It is still dependent upon me. I have not, however, written to the Society, from whom I have not heard a syllable in answer to what I wrote respecting their own missions; and something should be done. *If the Society could consolidate the two*[1] *missions, it would be a great measure indeed!* And when my means of supporting the Danes fail, (which they must ere long), they will look out for other masters: but at any rate, our own missions must be supported, or given up. I was unwilling to say so much in a letter which might possibly be read at the board; but really things are in a very bad state. The whole mission must soon rest entirely on Mr. Kolhoff, who is, indeed, an excellent man, but unequal to the duties of several; and Mr. Pohlè[2] was, when I saw him, bending under the weight of years." It was in consequence of the timely aid which the Bishop advanced to this mission on the Society's behalf, that 100 children, who had been dismissed from school for want of means to support the teachers, were enabled to resume their education. In addition to this measure of relief, the Bishop granted the Tranquebar mission an allowance of 150*l.* a year, out

[1] Tranquebar and Tanjore.

[2] Mr. Pohlè died in 1818.

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of a fund of subscriptions raised by himself. The Danish missionaries, in a letter to the Society, acknowledged that this timely assistance was "the only cause by which their mission was saved from ruin." The missionaries afterwards received some support from his Danish majesty; but being unable to provide catechists for the charge of 1300 Christians in the Tanjore country belonging to their mission, at their request, and with Bishop Middleton's concurrence, these Christians were transferred to the Tanjore mission [1].

The reader will recollect the intercourse of the Bishop with the celebrated *convert* Rammohun Roy, and may possibly be curious to learn something respecting the religious progress of that person. In this same letter the Bishop speaks of him in the following terms: "As to Rammohun Roy, I fear he is not, and never will be, even a Socinian! He seems, at present, to be as pure a Deist as ever breathed. He has, indeed, renounced idolatry, as forming no part of the religion of nature: but not one (here) supposed him near being a Christian after he had written his book; it was before he was an author, and when he would talk for hours together

[1] See Report of Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1830, p. 183.

upon the beauty of our religion, and the truth of the Gospel. He afterwards fell into bad hands; and I see as little chance of his being a Christian, as of my becoming a Hindoo. He is, at this moment, the chief *talker* among the *philosophers* here; and is much too well pleased with himself to receive the doctrines of Christ. They would only degrade him!" CHAP. XIV. 1817.

Another extract is given from this letter for the purpose of shewing Bishop Middleton's indestructible love of literature, and the sacrifice of this feeling which his various duties exacted of him. "My reading is very little; my Litany lectures occupy some portion of my time, and will not be finished till September or October twelvemonth, if Providence spare me so long; and then probably I shall print them for circulation through the provinces. I have some reason to think they will furnish views, which, though common enough in England, are not familiar in this country. I am also in the midst of my Syriac MSS. I have got together some excellent collections[1]; and then I am learning the common language of the natives, Hindostani. These objects, together with diocesan matters, letters,

[1] Among these was a very valuable MS. of the Ecclesiastical Law of the Syrian Christians, compiled from the canons and decrees of various councils. The arrival of this and other Syriac documents is mentioned by the Bishop in a letter to archdeacon Barnes, dated June 21, 1817.

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business, and as many visitors in the course of a week, as would make a tolerable levée, leave me but little disposable time. Still, however, I retain an unabated love of books; and shall feel myself very rich when you are able to send me out the supply in lieu of those lost in the *British Hero*, respecting which I wrote to you in January."

To the above is added a postscript relative to an event of no very usual occurrence in modern times,—the conversion of a Popish dignitary from the errors of Rome! "You will perhaps hear something about the abjuration of Popery by the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoli. The man is certainly married, and has quitted his convent where I saw him on my visitation; and is making himself acquainted with the principles of the Church of England; but I have not heard from him. . . . . The matter has made a stir, and it is supposed that others will follow his example. The misfortune is, I have nothing to give these people, so they must seek for patronage elsewhere."

It appears that about this time the establishment of Bishop Middleton was augmented by the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Hawtayne from England, to reside with him in the capacity of domestic chaplain. This arrangement was made in pursuance of a resolution of the Court of Directors, dated April 8, 1816, "that the Bishop of Calcutta for the time being should be allowed

a domestic chaplain, to be selected by himself; but that in the event of his not being chosen from among the chaplains in the Company's service, he be required to return to England immediately on the death, or coming away of the Bishop, and that he be allowed a salary equal to that enjoyed by the junior chaplain resident at Calcutta, without any fees or emolument whatever." Mr. Hawtayne was M.A. of Exeter College, Oxford, and came out to India, with an appointment from the Court as chaplain on the Calcutta establishment, though, in reality, with the view of being domestic chaplain to the Bishop; and was, accordingly, received into his lordship's family in that character immediately after his arrival.

CHAPTER XV.

Archdeacon's use of the Presidency pulpit—Letters to archdeacon Mousley and the Madras chaplains—Discussion with the Bombay Government on the validity of his Licenses to the Clergy—Dispatch from the Court of Directors, and the Bishop's reply on the same subject—Error of the Bombay Government in the suspension of archdeacon Barnes' Salary.

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A QUESTION arose in the course of the present year of a very important nature, which was referred to the Bishop for his decision. This question was first agitated at Madras, and the point in dispute was the use by the archdeacon of the pulpit of the principal presidency church. It will be remembered that Bishop Middleton early made regulations for the clerical duties at the presidencies, and assigned particular days on which he wished the archdeacons to occupy the pulpit of the principal or archidiaconal church. For some little time no objection appears to have been made to this arrangement. But in the course of the year, after the Bishop's return to Calcutta, a communication was made to him by archdeacon Mousley, forwarding some corres-

pondence which had taken place between himself and the presidency chaplains at Madras. The following letters of the Bishop will most clearly exhibit the points of this important case, and at the same time display the superior force and sagacity of his official decisions.

TO THE REV. ARCHDEACON MOUSLEY, MADRAS.

Calcutta, January 20, 1818.

Reverend Sir,

I have received from you sundry documents relating to a doubt entertained by the chaplains of the presidency church at Madras, respecting the right of the archdeacon to the use of the pulpit; but those to which I shall principally confine my attention are the two papers which are signed conjointly by the chaplains, the former bearing date the 28th of November last, and professing to "remonstrate against further submissions injurious to the chaplains' rights," and declaring that they esteem the pulpit to be as entirely their "own, as it is of any rector or vicar in England;"—and the latter, dated December 3, in which the same gentlemen state, that they "solemnly protest against your right to any control over the pulpit, and resist your occupation of it at will." It is hardly to be expected that I should enter into the merits of this question without expressing my regret, that language so little tempered with meekness or respect

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should have been deemed expedient, when every desirable end might have been equally well attained by a proper reference, not indeed to yourself in this particular instance, as being a party, but to the Bishop, to whom all such questions must ultimately devolve. My regret is not lessened, when I observe that the whole of this proceeding is founded in a misconception of the nature and tenure of the situations which English clergymen hold in India. These documents, not merely in one of the passages to which I have referred, but generally and throughout, are framed upon the assumption, that the East India Company's chaplains are to be taken as parochial incumbents. It is my earnest wish, as a friend to every measure which can add to the respectability and increase the usefulness of my clergy, that I may live to see them put upon this most desirable footing; but till this shall be accomplished, all reasoning founded upon the rights of the beneficed clergy in England must evidently be fallacious, and can only tend to confusion. A rector in England is indeed, "*persona ecclesiæ*, in full possession of all the rights of a parochial church;" his spiritual rights are conveyed to him by institution, and his temporal rights by induction: but in India, except in the case of the archdeacons, there is neither institution nor induction, nor any oath against simony; but the whole tenure

is simply a nomination from the local government in consequence of a general appointment by the Court of Directors, upon which the Bishop is authorised to grant his license if he see fit. To license the chaplains is all which the Bishop has power to do; he cannot give them institution; the license granted is the same which in England is granted to stipendiary curates on their nomination by an incumbent, and the effect of the license is not only to authorise the chaplain to officiate, but to prevent his removal against his will, unless the Bishop shall see fit to revoke the license, and certainly to give him an exclusive right to his pulpit against all other chaplains not authorised in like manner to assist him in his duties.

But after this original misconception, I am not surprised that the presidency chaplains do not perceive the ground of the archdeacon's claims. They remark, indeed, very truly, that "it is not by the archdeacon that the law has provided for the duties of the pulpit:" the thing is in its own nature impossible both in England and in India; in England it is by incumbents, or those to whom they delegate their duties; and with respect to India, the law has recognised the right of the East India Company to send English clergymen to this country to officiate at the stations to which they shall be appointed and licensed. But these stations are not parishes,

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and of course we have no parochial churches; and it seems not to have been considered, that the case of the principal church at Madras and at Bombay is, if possible, still further removed than the others from the analogy of a church in an English parish; for, in these instances, there is not only the defect of absolute and exclusive right conveyed by institution and induction, but there is also a diminution of the right conveyed by license, by the institution and induction of another. It is said, indeed, that you were inducted into St. Mary's church, and not into St. George's, which is now the presidency church; but on this I have only to observe, that St. Mary's was the presidency church at that time; you could not be inducted into St. George's church otherwise than prospectively; and to prevent all future exception, I directed that neither St. Mary's nor St. George's should be specified in my mandate, requiring the commissary only to induct you into the principal church, and to defend you so inducted: and though the presidency chaplains are correct in supposing that an official seat is not transferable at will from church to church, yet in this transaction there is nothing of so vague and gratuitous a character; the chaplains themselves were, I apprehend, transposed at the same time, from the same cause, and in the same manner: and though, if I had entertained the doubts upon

this subject now felt by the chaplains, I might have issued a fresh mandate of induction, or might do it still, yet I am satisfied with what has been done. We have, indeed, in England no law or usage relating expressly to presidency churches; my guide must be analogy: and when a church is rebuilt in England, though it should be at the other end of the most extensive parish, the rector would not be re-inducted, but might sue for his tithes or other rights upon the ground of his original induction.

But still the question remains, in the present instance, what are the rights of the archdeacon of Madras, with respect to the presidency church? The chaplains admit, without reserve, his claim to "the oversight of the duties of the pulpit, and to watch and enforce the due performance of them;" and I will add, that all matters of regulation, which would fall within the province of the bishop, if he were upon the spot, belong to the archdeacon, subject, of course, in case of doubt or dispute, to the Bishop's revision. With regard, however, to the archdeacon's duties in the service of the Church, I see no reason to depart from the tenor of my letter of the 10th of July, 1815, which you appear to have communicated to the chaplains. I there gave it as my judgment, that the archdeacon ought to preach on the principal festivals and at other times occasionally; about which I

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certainly did not foresee any chance of dispute. The presidency chaplains, however, observe, that here I do not advert to the law of the case, or the custom of the Church; and they express a concern, in which I heartily participate, that here my sentiments have not afforded them full satisfaction. I could, however, suggest to them, that when they ask for laws and canons and customs of the Church strictly and verbally applicable to such cases as that under consideration, they ask for what not only does not but cannot exist. All these suppose, with respect to the clergy, the existence of parishes, and with respect to dignitaries, that of a cathedral within a practicable distance, whither such dignitaries are to repair at stated times, and take their portion of the duties. But their dignities are not usually their only preferments: an archdeacon, especially, has commonly a benefice within the limits of his archdeaconry, where he at once attends to the ecclesiastical concerns of his jurisdiction, and discharges within the limits of his parish the duties of a parochial incumbent. Now nothing of all this applies to the state of India, for neither can the archdeacon of Madras be expected to come at stated times to the cathedral at Calcutta, neither has he any cure exclusively his own within his archdeaconry, nor indeed any where: so that, according to the view of the subject taken by the presidency

chaplains of Madras, the archdeacons of Madras and Bombay could never be heard from the pulpits of their respective churches, unless by asking leave of the chaplains. It is impossible to suppose that the legislature intended any thing so humiliating to the archdeacons, or that they would have created an appointment which thus, instead of tending to give dignity and consideration to the established religion, would rather involve it in discredit, from the apparent supineness of the higher clergy in maintaining and advancing Christianity. His Majesty, by letters-patent, has been graciously pleased to direct, that in future the archdeaconries shall be given, as they become vacant, to chaplains of the Company, intending, no doubt, the encouragement and reward of superior learning and piety; but I need hardly observe, that if clergymen thus honourably recommended are to be *ipso facto* silenced by their advancement, a regard for the interests of religion ought perhaps to lead the Bishop to select, for his archdeacons, persons of inferior qualifications.

I have, therefore, no scruple in considering the right of the archdeacons to take part in the duties of the principal church in their respective archdeaconries, to be a right intended and implied in their very appointment, and virtually conveyed to them by their institution; and that, even though the presidency chaplains were

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" personæ ecclesiæ," (if indeed the definition of that character, as cited from Blackstone, will allow us to suppose two " personæ" in one and the same church) I should still be of opinion, that this would be no bar to the right of the archdeacon to a certain participation in the use of the pulpit; inasmuch as the chaplains could not hold their rights by a fuller sanction, than that upon which the archdeacon grounds his claim. But I need not insist upon what in this diocese is merely hypothetical; we have here neither rectors, nor vicars, nor parishes; and I conceive that the share, which the archdeacon shall take in the service of the principal church within his archdeaconry, is entirely matter of episcopal regulation. The canons and constitutions of the Church of England could not provide for such a case, either one way or the other; the persons who framed them having never contemplated any thing precisely similar to the state of the Church of England in India. In such a state of things much must be matter of episcopal regulation; and much of that, which is now ecclesiastical law, is well known to have originally proceeded from no other source. I see, therefore, no reason to depart from the tenor of my original view of this question, but rather, much which confirms it. At Bombay I assigned to the archdeacon nearly the same Sundays and festivals for his turns of preaching, which I have given

to the bishop in the cathedral: *viz.* the morning of Septuagesima Sunday, First Sunday in Lent, Good Friday, Easter Day, Whit-Sunday, the First Sunday in Advent, and Christmas-day. These occasions I could wish the archdeacon to consider as his proper turns; to be taken, however, by the chaplain whose turn it would otherwise be, if the archdeacon be sick or necessarily absent. But I am still of opinion, that an archdeacon confining himself to his appointed turns would hardly be actuated with the earnestness and zeal, which might reasonably be expected, from his station. On the other hand, I am well aware, that rights pushed to extremities, or exercised in an uncourteous or inconsiderate manner, do frequently become wrongs; and I should by no means approve in an archdeacon,—(much otherwise,) any needless or vexatious interference with the chaplains in their reasonable claims. With respect to your catechetical lectures, it does appear to me, that they might, upon other grounds than those which I have been considering, be more properly resumed on the Wednesday or Friday (except Good Friday) during Lent. Even if the attendance should be comparatively small, still nothing could be more seasonable or appropriate: and with regard to the remainder, I would recommend that they be delivered on every Sunday afternoon, till they are brought to a conclusion, the evening being

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more usually allotted to instruction of that kind. But, in general, if you wish to preach occasionally, you would not exceed your just participation in the use of the pulpit by preaching once any month, in which you have not an appointed turn. In this arrangement, I mean not to include any lecture in Lent delivered on the week-days. The part belonging to you in the Communion Service and Sacrament will be that which usually belongs to dignitaries, during their residence at their respective cathedrals; it being impossible that I should assign you any portion of the duties at Calcutta. I believe that I need hardly add, that I do not consider the archdeacons as having any thing to do in the ministrations to which fees are attached, unless with consent of the chaplain, to whom the duty belongs; and even then, such ministration, with respect to the archdeacon, should be gratuitous.

I cannot, consistently with my duty, conclude my letter, without animadverting upon one of the documents transmitted by you, marked No. 2, being a note addressed to you by the Rev. Mr. Vaughan, the senior chaplain; in which, on a given supposition, Mr. Vaughan states, that in the evening he would "only take the prayers," and professes his assurance "that he should be supported in this by the Governor-in-council, if a report from him should be neces-

sary." I cannot reconcile this declaration either with that over-sight of the duties of the pulpit which Mr. Vaughan has attributed to the archdeacon, or with the desire professed in the other documents, to be guided by the laws and usages of the Church at home: where a reference to the civil authority upon a point so exclusively ecclesiastical, as whether there should be an afternoon sermon at a particular church, is utterly unknown. I have, however, a well-grounded reliance that the right honourable the Governor-in-council would not, for a moment, entertain such a question, but would dismiss it to be determined by the authority to which the legislature has given the cognizance.

I have to request that you will communicate this letter to the Rev. Mr. Vaughan and the Rev. Mr. Thompson, the presidency chaplains.

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

T. F. Calcutta.

This wise and temperate decision was not immediately acquiesced in by the presidency chaplains[1], and a further reference was made

[1] Notwithstanding this decision, precisely the same question was subsequently agitated at Bombay, in the time of Bishop Heber, who confirmed the determination of his predecessor. —See Bishop Heber's letter to Mr. Davies, Life of Heber, vol. ii. p. 164.

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by them in a joint letter to the Bishop, in which they submitted to his lordship the objections they still entertained to the assigned use of the pulpit by the archdeacon. To this the Bishop made the following reply:

TO THE REV. E. VAUGHAN, AND THE REV. M. THOMPSON, PRESIDENCY CHAPLAINS, MADRAS.

Calcutta, April 3, 1818.

Reverend Sirs,

Some indisposition and much business have prevented me from paying earlier attention to your joint letter of the 17th of February; though even now I have but little to remark upon it, having so fully considered the question in my letter to archdeacon Mousley of the 20th of January, a copy of which is in your hands. From the judgment, which I then, upon mature deliberation, delivered, I find no reason to recede. At the same time, it will afford me much satisfaction, if the few remarks, which have suggested themselves on reading your letter, should have the effect of removing from your minds every remaining doubt; and I am the more solicitous on this head, when I observe the temperate and candid language of your present communication.

I readily concede to you, that the question of your right in the pulpit is not a light one,

however I may be of opinion that you were misled by a supposed analogy as to the extent of it. But for that analogy, carried at least to such a length, you do not now contend; the only difficulties, which seem still to embarrass you, respect a clause in his majesty's letters-patent, and a passage in Dr. Burn's Ecclesiastical Law.

The clause in the letters-patent, which refers to the powers and functions of the archdeacons, does not, it is true, expressly give them authority to preach in the churches of their respective presidencies, or any where else. It directs that they shall be assisting to the Bishop "according to the duty of an archdeacon by the laws of England;" and from this you collect, by a tacit inference, that the archdeacons were contemplated as not having a right to preach. Now looking at this clause, with the most rigid impartiality, I cannot bring myself to believe, either from the words of it, or from the reason of the case, that it was ever intended to have any bearing on the question. The letters-patent were submitted to me by his Majesty's government in the rough draft; and I did not fail to inquire into the object and true construction of every part of them, before I returned them. The clause alluded to is evidently a limitation of the archdeacon's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and nothing more. He is to be assisting to the

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Bishop in the exercise of such jurisdiction and functions, as had already been limited to the Bishop. The right of preaching was entirely out of view. It was clearly presumed, that the Bishop would make such arrangements for the preaching of the archdeacons, as he might find expedient, and which should not interfere with any declared and legal right; and, in the present instance, no right can be pleaded so absolute and exclusive, as to be at all infringed by the archdeacon's limited participation in the use of the pulpit.

With respect to what you cite from Burn, who cites Watson, on the subject of the non-subscription of archdeacons to the thirty-nine articles, I observe, that it seems sufficiently to excuse the archdeacons from subscribing: but I do not find in the passage, nor have I ever heard, that the exemption is founded upon the presumption, that archdeacons, as archdeacons, are never required to preach. The contrary is well known to be the fact: and, therefore, an archdeaconry is not what you denominate a "non-preaching benefice," though it be true, as Dr. Burn observes, and what I have never controverted, (though you appear so to interpret a passage of my former letter) that archdeaconries are not "such benefices with cure as have particular churches belonging to them." The contradistinction here is plainly

between archdeacons, and those who are "*personæ ecclesiarum*," to whom particular churches do (exclusively) belong. Many plausible conjectures might be offered to explain that archdeacons are not subject to the general rule; but I find not either in Burn, or in any of the books, what you state, that the archdeacons not being required to preach is the ground, on which expressly he is privileged with exemption from subscribing. He is not, I believe, expressly exempted any where; though it is now very generally agreed, that he does not fall within the meaning of the statute of Elizabeth.

Upon the whole, then, of this matter, I can only refer you to the full consideration of it given in my letter to archdeacon Mousley, of the 20th of January, requesting that you will consider this letter as to be taken in connection with the former, and regard it as intended, to remove, if possible, every remaining feeling of uneasiness. In this, and in every decision which I may be called upon to make, my first object must be the fulfilment of strict and impartial justice according to the ecclesiastical law of England, wherever it is applicable to the circumstances of the Church in this diocese; and, where no direct provision has been made, by adhering to the principles of analogy and reason, and the general interests of religion. But, while I state this to be my primary object, that which

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is secondary I shall never, I trust, regard as inconsiderable; but shall rejoice whenever the resolutions laid down by me shall be seen to be just and expedient by all whom they may directly or even remotely affect.

I am, Reverend Sirs,

Your faithful brother and servant,

T. F. Calcutta.

There was another department of his episcopal functions in which the Bishop had considerable opposition to encounter, and to which it will be necessary to advert for the purpose of shewing that, in the exercise of his authority, he had, as it were, every foot of ground to contest. There was in some quarters a strong disposition to dispute the validity of his licenses to the clergy, and to reduce their effect to that of a mere certificate or testimonial. It has been already mentioned, that the Court of Directors had rescinded the order of the supreme government, by which the power of originating the nomination of chaplains to their stations, was transferred to the Bishop. The local authorities were disposed to construe the despatch from the government, into the right of removing chaplains at their pleasure, even from stations to which they had been duly licensed by the Bishop, after receiving their appointment, in the usual manner, from their respective governments. This con-

struction,—which would amount to no less than an invasion of his own rights and those of his clergy, and materially affect their comfort, as well as the regularity of their ministrations,—the Bishop felt it his duty to resist; and a correspondence, relative to a case in which the question seemed to be involved at Bombay, arose between him and archdeacon Barnes, parts of which are here inserted, as exhibiting the Bishop's just views of the authority which the occasion called upon him to maintain.

On the Bishop's visitation at Bombay, in 1816, he had regularly licensed the Rev. Robert Baynes to be garrison and junior presidency chaplain: he being, at that time, the second chaplain on the establishment of that archdeaconry, resident in India. In the course, however, of the present year, the Rev. R. C. Jackson, Mr. Baynes's senior in the service, returned from England, with an intimation in the despatch from the Court of Directors, that "his return to his duty was to be *without prejudice to his rank*;" an expression usually annexed to the permission from the Court for the return to India of their civil and military servants, and the effect of which is to place their names on the list in the same relation to others in which they stood previously to quitting the country. The Bombay government, however, interpreted the expression to imply also, that Mr. Jackson was to be immediately

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reinstated in the chaplaincy, which he held three years before, when he retired to England for the recovery of his health. In an official communication, therefore, to the archdeacon, they nominated Mr. Jackson to be garrison and junior presidency chaplain, and appointed Mr. Baynes to the chaplaincy of Tannah, then vacant.

On this being notified by the archdeacon to the Bishop, he immediately adverts to the inconvenience and irregularity of such a proceeding in the following manner, in a letter, dated Calcutta, July 8, 1817:

. . . . . "I am sorry to find that there is any intention of placing Mr. Jackson in the garrison; it will oblige me to explain to your government what is the nature of a license. The Company can appoint their chaplains to stations; but when appointed and licensed, I conceive that they are not removable. In England a rector appoints his own curate, but the Bishop's license is good against the rector, if he wishes to put in another person. These are very unwelcome discussions, but I cannot help them: I am bound to maintain the authority vested in me by the crown. When it is said, that the Bishop may licence the clergy, it can never mean that any other authority can revoke such licenses; it is contrary to analogy and the very reason of the case; there is then an end of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction altogether. Perhaps

you may have an opportunity of explaining this matter to the Governor. I do not mean that you should shew him this note, but merely explain to him what is the effect and validity of a license by that ecclesiastical law, by which I am directed to act; and that the right of the Company or their governments to nominate to stations, is quite distinct from that of displacing clergymen who have already been appointed, and regularly licensed. I dare say that the difference has not been considered. Pray state it, if you have the opportunity, as clearly and temperately as you can. It would be a serious injury to the clergy, as well as the annihilation of the Bishop's jurisdiction, to attempt to set aside their licenses. A chaplain of the archdeaconry of Madras, under the protection of his license, has begun to build a house at his station: in time, perhaps, other clergymen may follow his example; and unless the law is to be violated, they are perfectly safe."

The same subject is more fully discussed in another letter to the archdeacon, dated Calcutta, July 21, 1817, about a fortnight later.

. . . . . "The more I consider the proposed measure of superseding Mr. Baynes as garrison and junior presidency chaplain, to make way for Mr. Jackson, the greater is the difficulty which I find in giving it my acquiescence: indeed, I do not see that I can do it consistently with my duty. You state that the government

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conceive that Mr. Jackson is entitled to the appointment under the orders of the Court. Upon this point I must observe, that the right of the Court, through the local governments, to nominate chaplains to particular stations, must be so interpreted as to be consistent with his Majesty's letters-patent, granted under the same charter, to which the Court allude, when they say in the despatch referring to this business, that they "think it of importance to maintain the rights conferred upon them by Act of Parliament;" and they further observe, that the letters-patent do not affect this right, which is not a "matter of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but of lay patronage." The Bishop's jurisdiction they admit to be the same as that of bishops in England; and the right of licensing his clergy is expressly vested in the Bishop of Calcutta by the letters-patent. But this right will be completely set aside, if a chaplain nominated and appointed by the local government, and approved and licensed by the Bishop, be removable by any other than the Bishop's authority. The analogy used by the Court of Directors, is that of lay patronage in England; but lay patronage, like all other, is incapable of being exercised with respect to preferments which are already full. But the case lies in a narrow compass: if the government can appoint to stations, which are full, as well as to those which are vacant, the

Bishop's license is of no validity; but the letters-patent clearly intend, even as interpreted by the Honourable Court, that it should be of the same validity as in England. I really believe that these points have not been adverted to; and I have the fullest confidence that a verbal explanation on your part with the Governor, will make every thing clear. But if the Governor wishes me to write directly and officially on the subject, I can have no other objection, than that which I must always feel in formally maintaining a right, however unequivocal it may be."

Archdeacon Barnes, agreeably with the Bishop's wishes, personally explained to Sir Evan Nepean his lordship's views and sentiments on this case. The Governor assured the archdeacon that he had the fullest confidence in the Bishop's judgment, and every wish to conform to his views; but as the case evidently involved principles of considerable importance, and on points in which he was himself not well competent to decide, he desired it might remain over for a short time, in order to enable him to obtain legal advice as to the general extent and validity of the Bishop's licenses, and with a particular reference to this case.

It would appear that some of the authorities at Bombay, thought that the Bishop's license should be merely a certificate authorising the chaplain to read prayers and preach, without

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reference to any particular station. They also were desirous of assigning to Mr. Jackson, the superior salary attached to the situation as yet held by Mr. Baynes, asserting that the Bishop's license could not carry with it any right to a particular salary. On this, the Bishop remarks in a letter, dated Calcutta, December 4, 1817, to archdeacon Barnes :—

. . . . . "I am rather surprised at the very strange reasonings, or rather doubts, which you state to be afloat respecting the validity of my licenses, and that the letters-patent may have meant by 'a license', something which was never known or heard of by that name, a testimonial to be carried to another diocese. How could such a thing, if, by a strange mistake, it had been called a license, ever enable the clergy to officiate in India? The notion is so absurd, that I must surely mistake what is meant by it: and, as to my assigning to the clergy the salaries already granted, or hereafter to be granted, &c., it is certainly quite compatible with any alteration or reduction to be made by the Company. All that I assign is, such salary, &c. *be it what it may*, to the licensed clergyman; every thing there is his right, and his recompense, and no other can interfere with him. There must surely be a disposition to cavil, when the meaning is so plain. But the supposition of the reduction of the salaries can be only an

imaginary difficulty; such a measure is hardly to be contemplated."

It was not until the month of April following, that this business was finally disposed of. The result was, that the Bombay government conceded the point that no chaplain should be nominated to a station unless vacant at the time; and this was all the Bishop required for the validity of his licenses, and the protection of his clergy. The government, of course, had still the power of removing a chaplain from one station to another, whenever the exigencies of the service required it; but, in such cases, it was desirable to obtain always the opinion and suggestion of the ecclesiastical authority. Mr. Baynes, after some hesitation, voluntarily resigned his situation, and accepted the inferior appointment to Tannah. "I take it for granted," says the Bishop[1], "upon what you state, that the chaplain consents to the removal; but it may be right to ascertain this point in writing; though cases might arise, (as when a very important station was left vacant by death or otherwise, and the chaplain of an inconsiderable one had no good reason to plead for wishing to remain there,) when I should consent to his removal, whether he approved it or not. My license should protect the interests of the

[1] Letter to archdeacon Barnes, April 22, 1818.

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clergy, but should not be pleaded in mere evasion of duty, of which I should reserve to myself the judgment."

The Bishop, considering the circumstances of this case to be important, was careful to have the matter so recorded, that it should be impossible to appeal to this case as a precedent in disparagement of his episcopal authority. He instructed the archdeacon that Mr. Baynes's resignation should be drawn up in writing, according to a form which he himself transmitted to Bombay. This resignation was then sent to him; on which, he despatched his own written acceptance of it to the archdeacon. The letter, which contains his final instructions on this point, shews, at once, his knowledge of business, and his vigilant care of the authority rightfully attached to his office.

TO THE REV. ARCHDEACON BARNES.

Calcutta, April 29, 1818.

My dear Sir,

"I transmit to you, under this cover, an instrument, by which I accept the Reverend Mr. Baynes's resignation of the junior residency and garrison chaplaincy of Bombay, and also his license, with the requisite endorsement (to the chaplaincy of Tannah). I have to request that you will convey both of these to Mr. Baynes, taking care *first* to have the endorsement entered

in the register. The resignation I suppose has already been entered; and my acceptance of it is registered *here*. I must also trouble you to write to your government, to inform them that Mr. Baynes's resignation of the aforesaid chaplaincy has been accepted by me, and that he is now licensed to the chaplaincy of Tannah; and that the Rev. Mr. Jackson has been licensed to the chaplaincy vacated by Mr. Baynes. Mr. Jackson's license and certificate will be sent in a day or two.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

T. F. Calcutta.

It may, perhaps, simplify the narrative to introduce in this place the substance of a despatch from the Honourable Court of Directors, dated February 18, 1820, which will explain the view taken by them of this important question. It was addressed to the supreme government at Calcutta, and it referred to a letter of the Bishop's, dated Sept. 16, 1817, in which his lordship stated his reasons for objecting to the appointment of Mr. Jackson to the junior chaplaincy, and for refusing to license him to that station, except in the case of a voluntary cession on the part of Mr. Baynes. In this despatch, they said, that although the Bishop's objections had been removed by the resignation of Mr.

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Baynes, yet it was expedient to send instructions with a view to such cases in future. The power of the court, they contended, in regard to chaplains, and the rules established by them, affecting their appointment and emoluments, was neither abrogated, altered, or impaired, by the Act of Parliament, nor by the letters-patent. The power granted to the bishop by those letters, implies a right to withhold his license where the parties are disqualified for the spiritual duties. Their temporal interests were beyond the sphere of the bishop's jurisdiction, and were wholly under the protection of the court. Whereas, the bishop's refusal to license a chaplain to a particular station, because the interests of another chaplain might be affected by it, would be an indirect interference with lay patronage, if not a direct assumption of it, and might give rise to an inconvenient collision with the government.

The court professed themselves desirous of assisting the Bishop in the maintenance of discipline, and in the preservation of purity and propriety of conduct among the clergy. But they could not consent to give up the power of nomination and temporal control. They therefore directed the supreme government to suggest to the Bishop the embarrassment that might be prevented by his granting licenses to the chaplains " for the performance of general duties

within the limits of his diocese, or, of their respective presidencies, instead of confining the operation of the license to a particular station; and they hoped that his lordship would, without difficulty, accede to a proposition which, without involving any sacrifice of his legitimate authority, would be productive of much convenience to the public service.

The Court allowed, however, that it did not appear convenient or reasonable that a chaplain succeeding to a particular station in consequence of the absence of his senior, should be compelled to relinquish his station on the return of such senior. The latter, they consented, should be appointed to the first beneficial vacancy after his return; but ought to lose the advantage of any vacancy which may have occurred during his voluntary absence.

The Bishop did not feel it consistent with his duty to concur altogether in these suggestions of the Honourable Court. On the 20th of October, 1820, he addressed to the Governor-general in council, a letter in reply to their remarks. In this letter he observed, in the first place, that, in this *particular* case, the "temporal interests" of any clerical servants of the company (which interests the court claimed the right of protecting) were not affected by any proceedings of the Bishop. The appointment of Mr. Baynes was probably intended to be *permanent;* and the real difficulty

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was occasioned by the *unexpected* return of Mr. Jackson, and by the attempt to restore him to a station which he had abandoned, and which, in his absence, had been regularly filled up by his junior. Secondly, with regard to the general effect of the Bishop's license, his lordship stated that such license, though it protected a chaplain in the possession of his station, never operated against his removal to one more advantageous or desirable. Such removals were constantly occurring, without difficulty or demur. The existing practice, therefore, he submitted, could not be considered as invading the rights or interests of the clergy. As to the objection to the received mode of licensing, that it interfered with *lay-patronage*, the Bishop begged to state that, by the ecclesiastical law of England, a lay-patron was *functus officio*, when he had nominated and presented his clerk. Whether his benefice were rectory, vicarage, or perpetual curacy, a clerk, when once in possession, could not be removed at the pleasure of his patron, to make way for another. Though nominated by a layman, his tenure was ecclesiastical, being by virtue of letters of institution, or license, from the bishop. Nay, a curate, nominated by an incumbent, and licensed by the bishop, could not be removed unless he himself should desire it. Benefice or curacy, in short, could be forfeited only by clerical misconduct; and respecting

such misconduct the court seemed to allow that it was the bishop's province to decide.

With respect to "the power of nomination," which the Honourable Court could not consent to abandon; the Bishop contended that this power was not brought into question by any act of his, unless, indeed, it was to be understood, that there should be a "power of nomination" to stations in which there was no vacancy. As to "temporal control" over the chaplains, it was admitted that no control over them, in the discharge of their spiritual functions, could be exercised by any person but the bishop. Control of any other description, the Bishop readily disclaimed, and, in fact, never had exerted. No clergyman in India ever found the bishop's license an obstacle to his advancement.

The Bishop further submitted, that the "inconvenient collision with the government," apprehended by the Court, never could occur while the government retained the power of nominating to vacant stations, or of creating chaplains, as they might find expedient. The right of the bishop to withhold his license, on account of the disqualification of the chaplain for spiritual functions, appeared to be left undisputed: but this right must obviously suppose the exercise of the bishop's judgment, as to the qualifications of the chaplain, to be renewed upon every removal. The bishop would, other-

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wise, be disabled from acting upon his own experience and observation of the characters and capacities of his clergy; and would be compelled to regard a chaplain, not positively disqualified to commence his spiritual functions in one station, as necessarily qualified to undertake the duties of any other.

The letters-patent, which conferred on the bishop the power of licensing the clergy, must, he further contended, be supposed to have in contemplation such licenses as are known to the Church of England; and to that Church, a license to officiate throughout a diocese, an archdeaconry, or even a rural deanery, was an instrument utterly unknown. It was also to be observed that, in the letters-patent, the persons to be licensed are ministers and chaplains of churches, chapels, and other places of worship. The license must, consequently, have reference to such places of worship, and not to districts, or presidencies, much less to the whole diocese of India. If, however, it should be thought that the language of the patent was, in this particular, ambiguous, the bishop admitted that he could not take upon himself to be the judge of its legal and technical construction; indeed, the high authorities at home, with whom he was in correspondence, wholly disclaimed such competency.

The Bishop further represented that the effi-

ciency and weight of his office must suffer a formidable reduction, if the Honourable Court, who were the patrons of the clergy, should regard with apprehension the most temperate exercise of his ordinary jurisdiction. The revocation of that order of the supreme government, which transferred to the bishop the right of originating the nomination of the clergy to particular stations, had produced an effect, such as, probably, the court were far from having contemplated. Of course, he did not presume to question their power to annul this arrangement; but, nevertheless, he could not forbear to deprecate interference in cases where the rights of the court were not essentially and manifestly involved. He begged to intimate his satisfaction at the views of the Court expressed in their concluding paragraph. Had the matter been thus understood at Bombay, he would have been spared the pain of this explanation.

The Bishop concluded by an urgent application to the supreme government for a more ample supply of chaplains. The existing deficiency was such as to deprive a large portion of the European community of religious instruction, divine worship, and the administration of the sacraments,—to augment the difficulty of a regular and legal celebration of marriages,—and to threaten permanent injury to the cause of order, religion, and morality in India.

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For the reasons stated in this letter, the Bishop felt himself bound to adhere to the practice he had established of licensing every chaplain to a particular station, on the nomination of the local government being notified officially to himself, or to the archdeacon of the respective presidency. He inserted, however, in the body of the license, "or to such other station within the diocese to which he shall be removed with our consent, to be endorsed hereon [1]." And it is stated by his secretary and registrar, Mr. Abbott, that his chief reason for confining a chaplain to a particular station, and not permitting him to be removed without his consent, was, not only to secure to the station all the ecclesiastical advantages connected with it, but to compel the permanent residence of the minister [2]. If the chaplain were afterwards removed, or succeeded to another station, he invariably indorsed his license with the words, "removed with our consent," which he always signed: nor did he ever allow a chaplain to be absent from his duty, so as to

[1] Vide archbishop Wake's directions to the bishops of his province, cited in Burn's Eccl. Law.—Art. 11. That in licenses to be granted to persons to serve any cure, you cause to be inserted, after the mention of the particular cure provided for by such licenses, a clause to this effect, "*or in any other parish within the diocese to which such curate shall remove with the consent of the bishop.*"

[2] In his Practical Analysis, p. 59, 60.

interfere with the regular service on Sundays, without permission, except in cases of sickness, or other unavoidable necessity.

The same gentleman adds, that after the arrival of bishop Heber, that prelate, if the station had no proper church, added for some places, the term *district* to that of *station*, in the license, as being of a less restricted import. The reasons alleged by him for these alterations were, that the chaplains, by being licensed to districts as well as stations, would be at liberty to make visitations to a certain extent; and to preach on alternate or stated Sundays at different places within the circuit of their appointments, instead of confining their ministrations and services all the year to one part only.

The three following letters to Mr. Ward will here furnish a seasonable relief to the reader in the midst of severer matter, though the second of them relates to a melancholy occurrence, by which the Bishop was profoundly affected.

Calcutta, October 9, 1817.

My dear Friend,

I wrote to you about a month ago, since which nothing of any importance to ourselves has occurred; unless, indeed, it be that my whole family have preserved their health thus far, during one of the most sickly seasons ever remembered: and a negation of sickness ought

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certainly to be considered and acknowledged as a positive good, even in healthier seasons and climes. The natives have been the great sufferers: the cholera morbus broke out amongst them about a month since, and in the city and suburbs they died at the rate of 250 per day. The government very properly instructed our medical people to inquire into the cause of the disease and to endeavour to arrest its progress. Many causes have been assigned, but it yields very easily to medicine, and the native doctors have been taught how to treat it: the deaths are now about thirty per day, I mean of those, who are afflicted with this particular disease. But the Brahmins are never at a loss for expedients: they instantly set up a new goddess, the Lady Cholera, (for such is the literal translation of the idol's name) within two miles of this house, to which all the people were immediately to carry their offerings to avert her anger: some thousands went every day, and several died on the road. But this was not enough; it was intimated from the neighbouring temple of Kali, that her claims must be remembered, or her vengeance would be felt; and Kali is the most inexorable of demons, so that the notice had due effect. As these tricks were found to be so lucrative, a woman took upon herself to give out that she was an incarnation or avatur of Kali; and accordingly she took her station across the

river, and was beginning to act her part tolerably well, attended by her little priestess girl; when the magistrate of police, thinking that this was really no part of the *ancient religion*, but actually a new kind of fraud, and no better than English swindling, sent the native officers to seize her; they at first approached her with some hesitation; but finding that her gestures and menaces were not followed by instant death, they brought her to the magistrate, who, to her great astonishment sent her for six months to the house of correction, and to hard labour. An account of the commitment was published in the newspapers, which the natives read; and it has not excited the smallest commotion; though I dare say there are people at home who would suppose that this was a most dangerous step. But we are improving in these matters; hitherto we have treated these abominable superstitions with more respect than the natives do themselves. So much for cholera morbus and the Brahmins.

You frequently express a desire to know what we are about here, and how I pass my time. I sometimes rise at five in the morning, and mount my horse: but not always, as I am by no means certain that it agrees with me: it generally leaves me languid for the whole day. Otherwise I rise at six; frequently bathe: then we meet in the chapel at a quarter past eight; breakfast; and at nine I am in my library, when

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I sit down to business or books. About this time, and before twelve, somebody generally calls, principally strangers recently arrived; sometimes four or five in a morning, so as to leave me but a small residue of time. At two precisely, tiffin (not a hot dinner, as is usual, but cakes, fruit, &c.) from half past two to a quarter before six, books and business again; when the carriage is at the door, and we take our exercise till seven; then dress, and dine at a quarter past seven. At a quarter past eight we come up stairs, take our tea in the verandah, and converse; at half-past nine go into the chapel, and immediately afterwards retire. This is the regular and ordinary routine on week days. The exceptions are, that now and then I go out at half-past nine to return the calls of a few of the most considerable persons who have visited me; and that, instead of dining with our own family alone, we sometimes dine out, or have company at home. My clergy dine with me once in the fortnight, and once in the month we give an entertainment to about forty persons, so as to include every body in the course of the year, and some few families twice. I believe this is a history of the most regular life in Calcutta.

Yours, ever affectionately,

T. F. Calcutta.

Calcutta, December 9, 1817.

My dear Friend,

Within these few days I have received your letter of the 17th of June, of the present year; and by the same ship I had the mournful intelligence of the death of my old friend and patron Dr. Pretyman: it has given a great shock to my feelings and to Mrs. Middleton's. How many dormant associations has it awakened! I was closely connected with him during the best years of my life, from twenty-five to thirty-nine years of age; and possessed his unbounded confidence. My lamented friend thought that I was capable of something, and he may be said to have fostered such powers as God may have given me. With this train of feelings I may be supposed to have received the tidings with some emotion; they plunged me, indeed, into an abyss of reflections from which I have have scarcely yet emerged. Ten years ago the family consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Pretyman, and four fine children; one of them my *extraordinary* pupil! and all that remain of these six persons are a son and a daughter, the latter in a precarious state of health! I have never known so fine and flourishing a family so swept away. You, my friend, have no personal interest in this affair; but I am sure you will enter into my feelings. I had received a

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letter from Dr. Pretyman written about six weeks before his death.

My time is so divided amidst a multiplicity of objects, that I know not which way to turn. I had lately a visit from a Greek, just arrived from Mount Sinai: he brought me a letter of recommendation from our consul-general in Egypt. Another Greek priest has been with me, who is going to Cairo and Constantinople: he is a very worthy man, and I have been writing in his behalf to the patriarch of Constantinople an epistle in Greek: I never conjectured some years ago to what use my Greek might be turned.

Pray present our united best wishes, to all the family, and believe me,

Your affectionate friend,

T. F. Calcutta.

Calcutta, March 5, 1818.

My dear Friend,

I have been much shocked to hear of the death of my old and valued friend Dr. Sayers of Norwich, on the 6th of August last. With the exception of yourself, there was no man with whom I have lived in habits of so much intimacy: for seven years of our lives we supped together, if nothing particular prevented it, once in every week; we read the same books for the most part, as our pursuits were much the same;

and I believe that we felt for each other a mutual esteem and regard. Some of the happiest hours of my life were passed in his society; and at this distance, where I meet with nothing congenial, the recollection is more deeply felt. I feel that these events loosen the bands of life, and no doubt are mercifully intended to prepare us for our own departure. In the division of his property he has not overlooked any of his friends, and has left me fifty guineas; and as I should wish to apply the same to some memorial of my departed friend, I entreat you to order for me a handsome gold watch, on the back of which should be engraved a mitre, and in the inside,

ΣΑΕΡΣΙΟΥ
ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΟΝ.

1818.

You often wish to know what I am about, and I never fail to tell you, when any thing occurs. This is Lent, and I bring together the children of the several schools to be catechised in the cathedral. Yesterday there were 354, from eleven different schools: most of them are well acquainted with an easy exposition of the catechism: I never saw a more gratifying spectacle: on Wednesday next I mean to catechise them myself. On Sunday I preached from Rom. xiv. 7, 8, and I hope to preach again on Sunday se'nnight, and also on Easter day.

Your affectionate friend,

T. F. Calcutta.

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Towards the end of the preceding year (1817), the Bishop had to address the India Board, on a subject involving the interests of his invaluable assistant the archdeacon of Bombay. It will be recollected that this gentleman, by the Bishop's invitation, left Bombay in company with his lordship on the 17th of September, 1816; and, after officiating as his chaplain at Cananore, attended him to Calcutta. He was there detained by accidental circumstances until the 19th of March following; and finally re-landed in Bombay on the first of May, 1817. It was not till a month after his return, that he learned, with great astonishment, from his agents, that the civil paymaster had withheld the regular monthly issues of his salary. On receiving this information, he immediately addressed the government on the subject, stating his reasons why he did not consider himself subject to a regulation, framed with an exclusive regard to the civil servants of the Company, and having no reference to his situation or duties. In the official answer he was informed that "the right honourable the Governor-in-council would direct the immediate payment of his salary, if he would engage to refund the amount, if disapproved by the Court of Directors, to which authority he was necessitated to submit the question." Upon this, some correspondence followed with the government of Bombay, which

the archdeacon submitted officially to the Bishop; regretting, that the government had had not explicitly informed him of the grounds of the detention of his salary. Those grounds, however, he understood to be; *first*, that by a recent regulation of the East India Company, all their servants are liable to forfeiture of a certain portion of their salary, if absent from their stations more than six weeks: *secondly*, that, during the absence of the archdeacon from Bombay, he was not in "the exercise of his functions," as required by the Act of Parliament.

It should here be stated, that when the Bishop invited the archdeacon to accompany him on the remainder of his visitation, and to stay with him a short time at Calcutta, he gave notice of this intended arrangement to the Governor-in-council, and requested that all official correspondence, (relating to the duties or concerns of the clergy, which, in the absence of the Bishop, is directed to be carried on with the archdeacon,) might, during his absence, be carried on with the senior chaplain, to whom the Bishop would give the necessary instructions for that purpose. To this communication, the government replied, that they "had no objection to the archdeacon accompanying the Bishop, and that the commander of the *Aurora* had been instructed to receive and suitably to accommodate his lord-

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ship and family and archdeacon Barnes, with a passage to Calcutta."

On receiving the communication of the archdeacon, the Bishop immediately prepared a statement of the case to be transmitted, by the first opportunity, to the Board of Commissioners for India. In this paper, (dated 18th of Nov. 1817), he submits, *first*, that the archdeacons can no more be considered as liable to the regulations, by which the Company bind their *covenanted* servants, than the judges of his majesty's courts of law, to whom such regulations had never been understood to apply: and, *secondly*, that the Act of Parliament must be interpreted in connection with his Majesty's letters-patent, and also with the ecclesiastical law of England. By the act, the archdeacon's salary is to commence from his taking upon him the execution of his office, and to be continued to him so long as he should exercise the functions of his office within the limits of the Company's charter, and no longer. By the letters-patent, the archdeacons are directed, "within their respective archdeaconries," to be assisting to the Bishop, according to the duties of an archdeacon, by the ecclesiastical law of England. The Bishop conceived it to be the intention of the act, that the salaries of the persons in question should not be continued after they had resigned their functions, or gone

beyond the limits of the Company's charter; that the *jurisdiction*, not the *residence* of the archdeacons, was confined to the limits of their respective archdeaconries; and that nothing could be further from the intentions of the legislature, than to declare what should be taken as *legal residence*. In England, an archdeacon was not confined within the limits of his archdeaconry, nor even within the diocese of his bishop; and, if he should neglect the functions of his appointment, he would be responsible for such neglect to his diocesan. In India, it is true the archdeacons could not be effectually "*assisting to the bishop*," without being *generally* resident at the respective presidencies: still it could hardly be correct to suppose that the act enjoins the strict and perpetual residence of the archdeacons as the indispensable condition of their receiving their salaries.

It was further to be recollected, that this was not a case of absence without any pretence of permission or authority. The archdeacon, in this instance, by the Bishop's desire, accompanied him on a part of his visitation: and this at a time when no provision had been made for allowing him a chaplain. He accordingly conceived that it was competent to him to retain any clergyman in that capacity so long as his visitation should last, though he thought it respectful and courteous to the Bombay govern-

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ment, to intimate to them his intention with respect to Mr. Barnes. Archdeacon Loring had attended him on a former part of his visitation, without prejudice to his salary: and he had understood that the supreme government saw no difficulty whatever in the case of archdeacon Barnes. He concluded by stating that, though the principle would not be affected by it, it was just to notice that the stay of the archdeacon at Calcutta was considerably lengthened by an accident which befel the ship in which he was to have sailed for Bombay.

It was subsequently determined by the authorities in England, that the Bombay government, in suspending the salary of archdeacon Barnes, had made an erroneous application of a rule of the civil service to the case of an ecclesiastical officer, not a covenanted servant of the Company, and receiving his salary under the special provision of an Act of Parliament; and that, accordingly, the archdeacon was fully entitled not only to the salary which should have been regularly paid during his absence from Bombay; but to such interest also, at the rate of six per cent, as had accrued during its suspension.

CHAPTER XVI.

Deficiencies of the Bishop's salary for charitable purposes increased by the annexation of Ceylon—Hindoo College—Some remarks of the Bishop on the means of propagating the Gospel in India—His wish to have European or half-caste missionaries placed at the Bishop's disposal—Sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte—Censure of a chaplain in Calcutta—Select vestry at the Cathedral—Extracts of letter to Mr. T. Courtenay—Correspondence with the Bengal Government on leave of absence to be granted to Chaplains.

While the Bishop was toiling onward, though "hard and rare," his mind was perpetually kept upon the stretch, by the comprehension and distinctness of his views respecting the good that might be effected in India by a prelate whose heart was warm, and his hands unfettered. "Calcutta," he remarks, in a letter to Mr. Norris [1], "considering that it has risen from two or three miserable fishing villages within 120 years, is probably the most surprising place in the world: nor would there be a more important

[1] Dated March 28, 1818.

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or more efficient station in the whole Church of Christ, than the bishopric, if it had been put upon the footing of a bishopric in England. It is so only in theory; the practice destroys the similitude." The narrow limits of his income were still more deeply felt by him than the restrictions on his authority, since they deplorably abridged his power to advance the cause which he was appointed to maintain and to represent. "What," he exclaims, "might *not* a bishop have done in the East, with adequate resources!" And what, comparatively, *could* a bishop do in the East without them?—in the East, where piety and munificence are almost synonymous?—in the East, where the cause of religion would be disgraced and ruined by the very suspicion of parsimony? In India, go where he will, a bishop *must* give money liberally, or else expose the Gospel which he preaches, not merely to disadvantage, but to utter and ruinous contempt: and when he becomes the patron of any religious or charitable undertaking, he is expected to support it, not so much in the character of a subscriber, as in that of a *founder*. Accordingly, the contributions of Doctor Middleton towards such objects, from his own income, in the course of his first visitation alone, amounted to no less than 500*l.*; and nothing, probably, but an indispensable regard to prudence kept them even within these limits: for

never did a Christian prelate carry out with him, to his holy mission, a more truly generous or disinterested soul. To him, therefore, it must have been a heavy trial, to find his hands straitened, while his heart was expanding to the full extent of the exigencies constantly before him; to see that every Brahmin of exalted rank was a sort of general almoner, often with noble funds at his disposal, while the minister of God's revealed truth was frequently compelled to scant his bounty, and to make his charities a business of anxious, and, apparently, of sordid calculation. It should here, however, be mentioned, that the wise munificence of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, proved a most blessed auxiliary to his zeal and liberality. Their votes of credit came nobly in aid of all his designs for the advancement of the Christain cause: and without them, it would have been scarcely possible for him to take that prominent part, in benevolent and religious enterprise, which so well becomes a father of the Christian Church.

It was this consideration which, at first, caused him to view, with very qualified satisfaction, the addition of Ceylon to the diocese of Calcutta; a measure which had, for some time, been in contemplation, and of which he received notice shortly after this period. In many respects, as we have seen, that island was in a condition eminently promising for the reception of the

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Gospel. It was observed to the Bishop when he was there, that in Ceylon the cause of Christianity seemed to want little but money to secure its success. But then, it should be remembered, that the extent of the country is nearly equal to that of Ireland, a circumstance which alone would make it a fit station for a distinct bishopric: and then, the order of council, which extended his jurisdiction to it, provided no addition whatever to his salary, and thus left him destitute of the means by which alone his connection with the country could be rendered solidly or permanently beneficial. "You augur great good," he says, in a letter[1] to archdeacon Barnes, "from the proposed extension of my authority to Colombo. I once hoped it might be the case; but I am now of a different opinion. The warrant has reached me: it merely gives me jurisdiction as in India, but without any influence, or any visible means of doing good: I have neither patronage nor salary. The crown has appointed Mr. Twisleton the first archdeacon, and, in future, the appointment is *not* to be with the Bishop. And as to any funds, out of which the Bishop might give aid to Christian undertakings, the government is merely authorised to defray expenses incurred by the Bishop during his stay in the island, in

[1] Dated April 29, 1818.

discharge of his episcopal functions; so that the Bishop will be maintained during his stay (if he does not stay longer than the government thinks necessary), but will not have a single rupee at his own disposal. As to an adequate indemnification for much additional trouble and responsibility, I never expected it. But I did hope that a small annual salary, of perhaps 500*l.* a year, would have enabled me to stand prominent in the building of churches, schools, &c. without which the cause of Christianity must suffer, in the very person who is professedly sent thither to promote it." This evil, on being forcibly represented to his Majesty's government by the Bishop, was, shortly afterwards, partially remedied by an order from Earl Bathurst, the secretary of state for the colonies, to place 300*l.* at the disposal of the Bishop, for religious and charitable purposes, whenever he should be on the island, in the course of his episcopal visitation.

In the midst of his multiplied discouragements, however, his sagacity was in constant exercise upon the state of the public mind and feeling among the people of Hindostan. In his correspondence he is perpetually adverting to this momentous topic. His remarks on the Hindoo college, the establishment and nature of which has already been described in his letter to Mr. Courtenay, will be read with profound interest, as conveying his deliberate persuasion relative to

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the proper mode of bringing the natives into a state of intellectual manhood.

"There is nothing," he says [1], "in the Hindoo college unfavourable to Christianity; quite otherwise. I wish it success, and gave to it five hundred rupees, (50*l.*) Sir E. East and Mr. Harrington were the only other European subscribers; and the appearance of my name in the business was a question of doubtful expediency. The object has been to leave it as much as possible to the Hindoos, that it may seem to be their own work. Of themselves, however, they can do nothing. A military officer is the superintendent and director of the whole machine; and though the natives do not read our Scriptures, they learn English in Murray's Grammar, &c. and read moral English books. So far from shewing any hostility to the Christian cause, the superintendent is a most zealous advocate for conversion: and the diffusion of English knowledge, though not avowedly religious, all tends that way; *more effectually, in my opinion, than direct preaching*. The people, at present, are in a state of childhood. Argument and expostulation are thrown away upon them; they must first get ideas. The college, however, is most feebly supported by the natives. They do not see much use in it. *They get no interest for their*

[1] In a letter to Mr. Norris, dated March 28, 1818.

money! It is not that they consider it as tending to undermine their superstition; this seems not to enter into their thoughts. But they cannot comprehend what is the use of knowledge which is not lucrative; and as for public spirit, it is a thing foreign to their constitution. Indeed, if they had any thing of that sort about them, we should not be lords of India. Every man here takes care of himself, not as a member of society, but as an insulated individual. Selfishness, littleness, and imbecility, are their prominent characteristics. Their utmost efforts of wisdom are but a short-sighted cunning. Humanity can hardly be at a lower ebb. In this state of things, the grand desideratum is an expansion of mind, a developement of the faculties, new modes of thinking; and, according to my views, this must be brought about before Christianity can make its way. The teaching of English is the best thing that can be done. The commonest of English books, in which you and I can see nothing interesting, conveys to these people ideas which had never entered their minds. It takes them into a new world. But the difficulty is to produce the previous excitement. . . . . Besides the Hindoo college, we have now a school-book society, the object of which is to furnish to all in the country better books of instruction than they have hitherto possessed. This also has a leaning towards Christianity,

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though all books inculcating Christianity are professedly excluded. In this society there are many Mussulmans and Hindoos, and I think it will do good. I do not belong to it; indeed, in all these cases, I am rather an awkward person to deal with. The principal mover in the business is a friend of mine; but he thought I could not, without giving alarm, appear in the undertaking *at the outset;* and, on the other hand, when the society had been formed, and the names of members had been published all over India, mine not appearing, I did not think that I could very decently come forward afterwards. Some offence was taken at my declining it; but I could not help it. When I cannot appear in my proper place, it is better, upon the whole, not to appear at all."

It will be observed that, in the former part of the above extract, the Bishop iterates his belief that the friends of Christianity have much less to fear than is usually supposed from the sensitive alarms and jealousies of the Hindoo. This belief is repeatedly expressed by him in various parts of his correspondence: and in confirmation of it, it may not be unseasonable to produce in this place, the following very curious incident, subsequently communicated to Dr. Barnes[1], archdeacon of Bombay, by a gentleman in high station in the

[1] Dated July, 1819.

Deccan, and strongly illustrative of the views of the Bishop. CHAP. XVI. 1818.

"The Hindoos are splitting into schismatic modes of religious belief every day. Their original mode of worship is almost totally unknown; and free-thinking is, perhaps, become more common among them, than among Europeans, in regard to their established faith. About a month ago, the family-priest (Goorroo) of an ancient family, set up an image of the epidemic, (the cholera) to render its ravages less severe in the town of Lasore, where it had, for three days, carried off from fifty to sixty persons. The violence of the distemper generally abates in a few days; and this is not only known to Europeans, but to all the natives. He, therefore, calculated that its strength being spent, and his god set up, he would have the merit of having driven it out of the town. But the mortality, though not so great as at first, continued heavy; and, on the sixth or seventh day, his own son fell a victim to the disease. This blow drove the old priest nearly distracted: for, to the mortification of losing his own son, was added the certain loss of his own reputation for sanctity. In his irritation of mind, he dashed the god to pieces, and scattered the fragments in every direction. The epidemic, having run its course, almost entirely disappeared; and the story is gone over the whole country that the

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way of rooting it out of any place is for the priest to break to pieces the gods made to it."

Nothing, undoubtedly, could be more injudicious or absurd than to anticipate, from circumstances like this, a speedy subversion of the silly and impious mythology of India. The incident betrays an imbecility of mind so deplorable, as to render this degraded people scarcely fit for the immediate reception of a masculine system of faith. Still it may reasonably be considered as indicating, that their religious prejudices are by no means so violently irritable, as we sometimes hear them represented by persons who have lived among them. It may, therefore, like other signs of the times, be placed in opposition to that spirit of despondency, which numbers the conversion of the heathen among impossible and chimerical attempts.

Amidst the various and anxious labours of his situation, the Bishop derived great consolation and support from the change which time and circumstances thus appeared to be working in the mind of the natives; and from the reflection that, on the whole, a mighty, though perhaps somewhat irregular, movement was perceptible, whose ultimate tendency was towards the establishment of Christianity, and the overthrow of the foul and gigantic idolatries of Hindostan. This movement might indeed resemble

the vast and secular variations of the heavenly trajectories, and, like them, the cycle might require an awful lapse of ages for its accomplishment. In the interval, however, a noble exercise would be afforded to the faith and the charity of the Christian world; and men would be taught, by a salutary discipline, to abstain from imputing *slackness* to the operations of Omnipotence, and from estimating the march of Providence by the puny measurements of mere human calculation.

In a continuation of the same letter, from which the above passages are taken, the Bishop adverts to the undertakings and projects of various denominations of Christians in India, and more especially at Calcutta; and he adds, "It is a prevailing notion here, that we should know but of two classes in India, viz. Christians and Pagans. Now, in such a state of things, what can I, or any man, do? When I arrived, the Baptist missionaries had been seventeen or eighteen years established, and were in other parts of these provinces: and subsequently, I have had enough to do in attending to my immediate and primary duties. I sent a letter almost two years ago, to the Board of Control, proposing salaries of from 200*l.* to 400*l.* a year each, to not more than four persons, Europeans or half-castes, ordained by the Bishop, and capable of preaching to the natives, Portuguese,

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half-castes, &c. in the languages of the country. These would not have been precisely missionaries; but they would have brought into the communion of our Church, a large class of stragglers at the several presidencies, *from whom the best missionaries might have emanated,* and who would have been *missionaries of the Church.* But I was assured, in reply, that there was no reason to believe that the Company would accede to such a measure if it were proposed; of course it dropped! I also wrote to the archbishop, as president of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, recommending, if possible, that missionaries should be sent to Bengal; and I am daily expecting his answer: but nothing I suppose can be done. Thus, according to appearances, the future Christianity of India, will be that of almost every denomination, except that of the Church of England. And, as I neither use instruments of my own, nor consent to employ such as are within my reach, I am liable to be considered, and no doubt am represented, as indifferent in a cause in which I ought to take the lead. Surely this is a trying situation; I almost sink under it. I endeavour to act, and pray God to direct me, in all things, for the best; but seem as a man turned adrift on the ocean, without oars or sails."

It would be inconsistent with the plan of this memoir minutely to enumerate and describe

the various undertakings of a religious character, which seemed to indicate that a spirit had descended to trouble the stagnant waters of the ancient superstition, and to infuse into them a principle of health and life. Gigantic schemes, the Bishop observes, were every where afloat. Every thing was conceived on a large and commanding scale. In India nothing petty or dwarfish could have the slightest chance of success. His great and incessant anxiety, therefore, was, that something of the same spirit should be caught by the Church at home: and that the efforts made by societies connected with her should, if possible, correspond with the same colossal and elevated standard. Where every thing appeared grand and magnificent in its design, nothing could be more pernicious, or more discreditable than a system of timorous frugality on the part of the episcopal establishment, which ought, unquestionably, to be foremost in the career of Christian enterprise. To this effect were all his representations, both to his personal friends, and to the great ecclesiastical authorities in England, with whom he was in active and unwearied correspondence. The southern missions, more especially, were objects of his unceasing anxiety. That of Tranquebar, in particular, was, as we have seen, a source of perpetual distress and agitation to him. It was hastening to decay, and, apparently, to utter extinction;

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and he was condemned to hear, with inexpressible pain, the reproaches which were unsparingly levelled against the supineness, or the parsimony, which could endure to look upon the ruin of a cause, once so nobly and liberally supported by the Church of England. The sequel, however, will shew, that all this anxiety and labour were not without their effect or their reward.

The tenor of Bishop Middleton's correspondence has already shewn how frequently his thoughts were wandering towards England. The following letter will prove that this longing after his native land was no selfish emotion, but that it was prompted by his profound attachment to her as the abode of freedom, of literature, and of piety. He is speaking of an event, the intelligence of which had recently reached Calcutta, and which had made every house in the empire, a house of mourning,—the death of the Princess Charlotte, and, with her, of the infant hope of the British throne.

TO S. S. WARD, ESQ.

Calcutta, June 1, 1818.

My dear Friend,

I received your interesting letter of November 9, about six weeks since. We are sadly backward in intelligence from London; no ship has yet arrived which sailed since the new year commenced. It is indeed melancholy to reflect what

changes may have taken place deeply affecting our interests and happiness, and of which we are here totally ignorant for five or six months together. The news of the death of the poor Princess had reached us overland; it quite overwhelmed me. I sincerely lament for my country, my love of which neither time nor distance will, I believe, ever abate. My residence here serves but to shew me how little and how wretched is every thing around me compared with what exists in England. Before I can lose a particle of my interest in England, I must learn to think that I have hitherto set too high a value on religion, literature, liberty, the arts, the common conveniences, and even the charities of life; for here they all feel the climate.

You tell me of your delicious tour; six cathedrals in twelve days! In that short time, I verily believe, you saw more, which is capable of conveying delight to taste and benevolence, than twelve months' travelling would have shewn you in India. As to architecture, I do not expect to see here any thing approaching to Winchester cathedral. I have not yet seen the great Mosque at Delhi, nor the Mausoleum at Afra; but I have a pretty good idea of them: as to the Hindoo architecture, I have seen all of any note, and it is barbarous. The Mussulman is no doubt far superior: a mosque is seldom ugly; but I am not aware that any mosque in the world at all

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approaches in point of size to the English cathedrals.

We have had this year an unusually hot season; some of the older residents have found it as much as they could bear. The thermometer within doors has seldom been more than 92° to 94°, but this is not an accurate criterion of our feelings. Mrs. Middleton suffers from extreme languor: for myself, I thank God, I have hitherto escaped every thing beyond trifling indisposition.

May God bless you, my friend,

Ever yours affectionately,

T. F. Calcutta.

The Sunday after the arrival of the news, he addressed the community of Calcutta on this calamitous event, from the pulpit of his cathedral. The church was richly hung with the deepest mourning, and was crowded to a degree, unknown before or since, except, perhaps, on the occasion of his own funeral. The depth of his own feelings was strongly indicated by his aspect and demeanour on entering the pulpit, and they were most powerfully communicated to his whole congregation. The text which he chose was singularly and awfully appropriate:—*In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children*[1]: and the effect of these words alone was, to melt the female

[1] Gen. iii. 16.

portion of his audience into tears. He commenced his address with a masterly and forcible discussion of the passage, which rivetted the hearers in almost breathless attention; and then, after a lengthened pause, he opened his application of it to the melancholy case before him. The effect produced by the tender expression of his commanding countenance, and the softened intonation of his powerful voice, has been warmly described by those who witnessed the scene; and was afterwards attested by the general anxiety for the publication of his sermon. With this wish, it is greatly to be regretted that he did not think proper to comply.

Hitherto, whatever opposition or discouragement the Bishop might have experienced from some quarters in the exercise of his authority, the clergy had always shewn the highest respect for his office and person, and readily acquiesced in his arrangements. It was, therefore, with considerable pain that the Bishop felt himself imperiously called on to notice the grossly disrespectful conduct of one of the chaplains of the cathedral. This occurrence itself, and the circumstance out of which it arose, shall be related in his own words, extracted from his correspondece with archdeacon Barnes, in a letter, dated Calcutta, June 11, 1818. The affair is important as contributing to the completeness

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of our own insight into the peculiar embarrassments of his situation.

. . . . . "A more important discussion has arisen here: the two chaplains of the cathedral have long been on bad terms; and this want of cordiality has been much increased by mixing up itself with the proceedings of what is called the select-vestry. On Easter Monday last, the day of electing what we call churchwardens, the senior chaplain espoused the cause of a new candidate; but some how or other (the history is a very long one) a majority of the old vestry re-elected themselves. This led to a protest on the part of the senior chaplain; and at last, both parties complained to the government, who sent me their letters, and desired my sentiments generally on the whole affair. This led me to examine all the records from the beginning, (about thirty years ago) and my judgment upon the case, which was sent in about ten days since, is, that the select vestry was not originally so constituted as in any way whatever to represent the inhabitants of Calcutta; that, even according to its own constitution, the election of last Easter was bad; but that in the present circumstances of the Church, *i. e.* since the erection of the bishopric, churchwardens, in their church capacity, as managers of its concerns, are superfluous, inconvenient, and contrary to

analogy and law. I propose, that the 'archdeacons and chaplains,' in subordination to the bishop, should manage all the concerns of the cathedral: and that, as to the management of the charity funds and the poor, we should have 'guardians of the poor and overseers,' according to a plan which I offer to arrange. At any rate, it is high time to put an end to discussions and broils within the very walls of the church, and that the bishop should be enabled to give his orders in his own cathedral, without having to wait for the concurrence of persons calling themselves churchwardens and sidesmen, who, after all, are personages quite unknown to the law. I know not at present what turn the business will take; but I consider my ground to be good. My statement on the subject is very full, amounting to thirty-one pages in folio. Partly out of this business has grown another, still more to be regretted. One of the clergy, indignant at my supposed interference, when in truth I had as yet taken no part in the matter, spoke of me, in the hearing of three persons, words which, whether applied to my person or my office, were shameful; and, as I found, were publicly known. I should have been justified in proceeding to greater severity; however, I hope that a suitable proceeding will teach him to be more cautious. On Tuesday last, I convened a meeting of the archdeacon and clergy, and I

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gave him, in their presence, a very strong, and not a very brief admonition: the tenor of which I hope will be known in Calcutta as generally as the cause of it. Any thing less than this would have been a dereliction of my duty; and I have but barely satisfied it in stopping here. These things, as you may suppose, create a sensation; but I hope that good will come of them. . . . . My only motive for writing a syllable on the subject is, that, if you hear half the story, you may at least know the rest."

With regard to the discussions alluded to by the Bishop in this letter, relative to the rights of the body calling themselves the select-vestry, it may be convenient to mention here, that on the 8th of January in the following year (1819), a letter was addressed to the members of that body, by order of the Governor-general-in-council, relative to the points in dispute. In this document it was stated, that from representations laid before the government, it appeared that the church of St. John was originally undertaken with the sanction of government, and nearly rebuilt by subscription from individuals: but that government had, subsequently, expended a considerable sum for the completion of it: that it was difficult, from these circumstances, to conclude whether or not the government had the power of constituting the church a cathedral, in the legal acceptation of the word,

or to determine in what precise individuals the legal title was then vested. Under these difficulties, the government were satisfied that the select-vestry would cheerfully concur in such an arrangement as might be necessary to ensure the effective and decorous performance of the Bishop's sacred functions; and, with that view, his lordship in council recommended *that the Bishop be considered to possess the sole and exclusive direction as to all that regarded the performance of divine service, or arrangements for general convenience within the church.* With regard to the constitution and election of the vestry, the government was disposed to the opinion that, as Calcutta was not a regular parish, the British laws concerning parochial arrangements were inapplicable in the present case. It was further to be collected from the information before the government, that the appointment of church officers has generally been made under the immediate authority of the body denominated the select-vestry; and that the *claims* of the senior chaplain to any such patronage, are founded on a misconstruction of the indulgence occasionally exercised, in courtesy towards him, on the part of the vestry. It was, moreover, thought expedient that the vestry, (having been long recognised by government, and having become, in fact, trustees for several public charities), should remain on its

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present footing, till the authorities in England should judge it proper to interfere; that, in the meantime, the privilege of election should continue, as before, in the remaining members of the body itself; and that the concerns of the church should proceed according to the usage prevailing previously to the establishment of the episcopal dignity at Calcutta, excepting the arrangements, already stated, for the satisfaction and accommodation of the bishop. It would remain with his Excellency-in-council to apply for such early instructions from England, as would define the powers of the vestry; and, by rendering the episcopal situation more correspondent to the rules in force at home, would place it beyond the hazard of future misapprehension or dispute.

Lastly, although it was not the intention of the government to pass any formal judgment on the appeals which had been separately addressed to them on the part of the senior chaplain and of the other members of the select-vestry, yet his Excellency-in-council could not refrain from expressing the regret with which he had noticed the indecorous language into which some of the members were stated to have been betrayed. It was hoped and expected, that the government would not have again to animadvert on such proceedings: but in the event of their recurrence between the chaplains (which cannot too much

be deprecated,) his Excellency-in-council would be compelled to mark his displeasure, by removing from the presidency, the clergyman with whom they might be proved to have originated.

Conformably to the tenor of this paper, the whole case was subsequently sent to England in order to a final decision: but it is believed that the matters in question have never been brought to a determination, and that the Bishop of Calcutta is still without a church which may, with legal propriety, be called his cathedral.

It is gratifying to collect from the Bishop's correspondence that light and comfort were perpetually breaking in to cheer him in his various and anxious labours. In a letter to Mr. Courtenay, dated August 22, 1818, he says,—

"Nothing of any great interest has happened here lately. Lord Hastings has been with us rather more than a month, and so far as common foresight can judge, can never again have occasion to leave Calcutta, while he is Governor-general of India. We shall be accordingly interested here, to know what is said in England, and especially in Parliament, respecting his administration. We have here, I believe, but one opinion; and that is, that there has been nothing so splendid in the annals of the country. We have nothing now left us to perform, but to civilize and improve the people; and it is time that we begin. We are indeed beginning; and

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very perceptible changes are taking place: the natives are evidently approximating to us. This morning I attended a meeting for the formation of a leper asylum, an institution exceedingly wanted: the disease is unknown among the Europeans, but among the natives it is frightfully common. On this ground we invite the natives to join us: and one of them has given us a piece of ground, and 5,000 rupees. He may, indeed, be said to be the founder of the institution. These are favourable appearances: and they are becoming much more common than they were three or four years ago. I do not despair of India, if there be not a chilling policy at home."

It may be proper to mention here that, towards the conclusion of this year, the Bishop was called upon to address the government respecting the absence of chaplains from their stations; a matter of some perplexity, arising out of that peculiarity in the condition of the clergy in India which was perpetually embarrassing the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction. It appears that, notwithstanding the transfer of the chaplains from military to ecclesiastical control, some of the clergy had absented themselves from their duties, or proceeded from one station to another, with no other authority than the sanction of the commanding-officer of the cantonment. The two following letters will

shew the just view entertained by the Bishop on this point, and the manner in which the Marquess of Hastings conceded the propriety of the Bishop exercising his own discretion with regard to applications from the clergy for leave of absence inland, not occasioning a departure from the limits of the presidency.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST NOBLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL, &c. &c.

Fort William, Sept. 11, 1818.

My Lord,

Having recently had the honour of a conference with your lordship upon the bishop's right to grant to the clergy leave of absence from their respective stations, when the circumstances may seem to him to require it, I proceed, at your lordship's suggestion, to state, in writing, what are the grounds upon which I conceive that right to rest.

By sect. 52. of the Honourable Company's charter, his Majesty is empowered to grant to the bishop such ecclesiastical jurisdiction as should be thought necessary for the superintendence and good government of the ministers of the Church establishment within the limits of the Company's charter; and his Majesty was pleased to avail himself of that power in his royal letters-patent, erecting the bishopric of Calcutta, by authorising the bishop to grant

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licenses to officiate, to all ministers and chaplains of all the churches or chapels, or other places, within the said diocese, wherein divine service shall be celebrated according to the Liturgy of the Church of England: and, further, by ordaining that, all grave matters of correction, which are accustomed to be examined, according to the practice of the ecclesiastical laws of the realm of England, shall be judicially examined and proceeded in before the said bishop and his successors.

On these citations, my lord, I would be permitted to remark, that they seem to establish two points,—that the chaplains of the Honourable Company cannot exercise their functions except under the authority of the bishop's license; and that the ecclesiastical laws of England are made applicable to the clergy of this diocese.

The intended effect of licensing a clergyman, is to place him under the jurisdiction of his diocesan, and, at the same time, to give him a legal title to his cure. It renders him exclusively amenable to the bishop's authority, and makes the exercise of that authority necessary towards his removal. But this is not all: every clergyman, previously to his being licensed, takes an oath of canonical obedience to the bishop and his successors; and canonical obedience is understood to extend to all matters connected with canonical duties. I need, however, hardly suggest to your lordship that a power residing in

any other authority than that of the bishop, to grant to the clergy leave of absence, would be a power to take them for a time, out of the bishop's jurisdiction: and if residence on their cures be indispensable, as it evidently is, to the performance of their duties, such a dispensing power would make it hardly safe for a clergyman to take the oath in its present unqualified form: he could take it only with special reservations, which his diocesan, however, could not recognise, the form being fixed by law.

I infer, therefore, that the powers of the letters-patent did intend to give to the bishop as distinct and entire jurisdiction over the chaplains of the Honourable Company, as any bishop has over his clergy in England. I find not in this particular, either exception or abatement, and if I rightly recollect, the opinion of a late advocate-general, Mr. Strettell, was decided on this point.

But the case, my lord, seems not to rest upon opinion or inference. The passage last cited from the letters-patent gives the bishop cognizance in all grave matters of correction, accustomed to be examined according to the ecclesiastical laws of England.

The non-residence of the clergy, and their absence from their cures, have always been numbered among these *grave matters;* and the recent act of the 57th of the king, for enforcing

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the residence of the clergy, treats the whole question of non-residence as one of ecclesiastical cognizance, and confirms to the bishops the exclusive right of granting licenses of absence: it also directs them to proceed against any clergyman absent from his benefice without the bishop's permission. The chaplaincies in this country, it is true, are not benefices in the strictest sense: but neither are they curacies, in which the curate is responsible to the incumbent: neither are they military chaplaincies, I conceive, otherwise than as military persons, in many instances, constitute the chief part of the congregation. But whatever may be judged to be the nearest analogy, the chaplains of the Honourable Company are unquestionably *the* clergy whom the charter and the letters-patent contemplate as subject to the bishop's jurisdiction, and to whom the ecclesiastical laws of England are intended to apply.

I know not, my lord, whether it can be further necessary to state, that the right here claimed in behalf of the bishop does not, in any way whatever, interfere with the patronage of the Honourable Court of Directors. I am aware, that they consider the nomination of the chaplains to vacant stations to be a part of their patronage; and, as such, that it is to be delegated to the local governments, rather than to the bishop. Their right, therefore, will stand on the same

footing as private ecclesiastical patronage in England, where the patron presents his clerk, but does not, on this ground, claim any right to interfere in the relation which is thus established between such clergyman and his diocesan, after the former shall have been invested with his functions. The clergy of a diocese, whether presented by the crown, by chartered companies, by individuals, or collated by the bishop, fall under precisely the same jurisdiction, and enter into the same engagements. The case cannot, as I conceive, be otherwise in India. The chaplain is nominated by the government to a vacant station, but being approved and licensed by the bishop, he remains under that jurisdiction, in all canonical matters, until he shall quit his cure. With the bishop rests all the responsibility connected with the conduct of the clergy; and with the same authority, therefore, it seems reasonable that the power of excusing them from their duties should also reside. Your lordship may be assured, that on this ground only should I be disposed to urge my claim. I am not contending for a right, which is exercised with any gratification: to grant leave of absence in cases where it can be properly asked, confers no favour, and to refuse it in others, is but an invidious discharge of duty. It seems right, however, that the bishop should announce to the government, as I have regularly done, every leave of absence he

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may grant. It is fit that your lordship in council should be satisfied, that no clergyman is absent from his station without permission; and the payment of his salary renders it indispensable that arrangements should be made accordingly.

I have, &c. &c.

T. F. Calcutta.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

Council Chamber, November 13, 1818.

My Lord,

By direction of the most noble the Governor-general in council, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's letter, under date the 11th of September, stating the grounds on which you consider the Bishop of Calcutta to be entitled to grant leave of absence to the clergy of the diocese at his own discretion. The Governor-general in council commands me to offer his acknowledgments to your lordship for the explanations detailed in your letter: but it has occurred to his Excellency in council, that the discussion of the extent of the bishop's power, with regard to the privilege in question, may be satisfactorily obviated by the adoption of the arrangement hereafter described. According to the military regulations of the government, it is within the competence of the Commander-in-chief, to grant to officers leave of absence, not

involving a departure from the limits of the presidency to which they belong, without reference to the authority of the government; but in instances of applications to proceed, on leave of absence, by sea, or otherwise, beyond those limits, the sanction of the Governor-general in council must be previously obtained. The necessity of the maintenance of this principle, is too obvious to require illustration; and his Excellency in council is of opinion, that the analogy may be properly applied to the cases of the clergy under similar circumstances. His Excellency in council therefore proposes that your lordship should exercise your own discretion, with regard to applications which the clergy of your diocese may make for leave of absence inland, not occasioning a departure from the limits of the presidency under which they serve, and that applications to proceed to sea, or to quit the limits above-mentioned, be referred for the sanction of the government.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

C. LUSHINGTON,
Secretary to Government.

This chapter will be properly concluded with a letter of the Bishop's to Mr. Ward; in which he expresses himself indeed somewhat more freely than usual to that gentleman, respecting the solicitude and toil incident to his office; but

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still in such a manner as to leave the impression that the good had a decided preponderance over the evil.

Calcutta, September 7, 1818.

My dear Friend,

Your very acceptable letter of the 6th of February, reached me only two days since, and has relieved me from some anxiety.

* * * * *

You say that you have but an imperfect view of my condition here, my views, my hopes, and my difficulties; and whether the good or the evil preponderates. It is difficult to strike a balance where the items are of so variable and fugitive a nature, as are the human feelings; but certainly I should be ungrateful to Providence were I to repine at my having quitted England: and of this I am certain, that had I persisted in refusing the offer, my conscience would not have been easy. I should have constantly accused myself of having declined important duties, to which I had been called in a singular manner, from unworthy considerations of my own ease. I have certainly great difficulties and discouragements to contend with; and I have also to struggle against all sorts of irregularities and anomalies, such as have no existence in England, while my powers are fettered and curtailed. Why I do not sink under

all these discouragements, I can hardly tell you. In my present state of debility they do indeed seem tremendous: but, at other times, I persuade myself, that perseverance in the course of duty will finally prevail over all impediments; and I look forward to the time when, after all my toils, I may close my career in England. A wise man, at least in the stoical sense, should be indifferent upon this subject; but at present I am not so. At the utmost, I could not expect to carry back any thing better than enfeebled faculties and a worn-out constitution; but still I cannot repress the desire of passing my last days, however few, in England. By that time indeed, or long before, I shall feel that I need retirement. My life here is anxious and laborious, but I hope, and I believe it is generally felt, that I am doing good. It would be a great relief to me at this season, and very conducive to my health, if I could cruise for a fortnight or three weeks at the Sand Heads (the mouth of the river), but I cannot well leave my business, nor can I take it with me. Among other new undertakings here for the benefit of the natives, who *now* certainly are not neglected, are the schools of the diocesan committee just set on foot by me. They are nobly patronised: we have already got about 1200*l.* in donations, and 400*l.* per annum in subscriptions, and a great deal more may be expected from the provinces.

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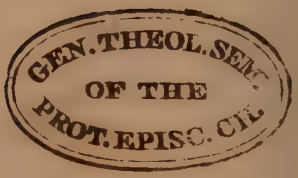
They are merely schools for "useful knowledge;" but that all leads to Christianity. The object is to make the boys too wise for the Brahmins; after which we trust, that with God's blessing a purer and a more reasonable faith will find its way. We are commencing our operations in a swarming suburb to the south of the city. But I must conclude.

Yours ever affectionately,

T. F. Calcutta.

END OF VOL. I.



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